TOWARD·A CHRISTIAN AMERICA

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TOWARD A CHRISTIAN AMERICA

THE CONTRIBUTION OF HOME MISSIONS

BY
HERMANN N. MORSE

COUNCIL OF WOMEN FOR HOME MISSIONS
AND
MISSIONARY EDUCATION MOVEMENT
NEW YORK

HERMANN N. MORSE, D.D., is a graduate of Alma College, Michigan, and Union Theological Seminary, New York. He was ordained to the Presbyterian ministry in 1911. Except for a brief interval, he has been in the service of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions and of its successor, the Board of National Missions, since 1912. After serving for some years as secretary and director of the Department of Budget and Research, he became administrative secretary, a position he has held since 1930. Specializing in rural surveys and general research, he has given at various periods part-time service as adviser to the Interchurch World Movement, to the Institute of Social and Religious Research, and to the Home Missions Council. He has lectured on rural and mission subjects in Auburn, Drew, and Union Theological seminaries, Teachers College of Columbia University, and elsewhere.

Dr. Morse was chairman of the Joint Committee on the Five-Year Program of Survey and Adjustment, appointed by the Home Missions Council and the Council of Women for Home Missions, and later edited its report, *Home Missions Today and Tomorrow*. He is now chairman of the Joint Committee on Planning and Strategy (representing various interdenominational bodies) and of the Regional Committee on the Southern Mountains. His work has required him to travel extensively through the United States and the West Indies.

He is the author of *The Country Church in Industrial Zones*, *The Social Survey in Town and Country*, *The Town and Country Church in the United States* (with Edmund de S. Brunner), reports on rural surveys in Maryland, Ohio, California, Oregon, New Hampshire, and Maine, and numerous pamphlets and articles.

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FOREWORD

WITHIN this decade occur a number of significant home missionary centennials, to remind us of the debt the present owes the past. It is well to keep fresh our memory of the past. Its shadows shelter heroic figures. Its chronicles tell tales of unselfish toil, of lives freely spent for the fulfilment of a dream, of successes and of honest failures, from the contemplation of which we may draw a lesson against our present and our future need. We call attention to these missionary anniversaries that they may help to interpret the present for us, that we may be kept humble by the recollection of how much our fathers overcame through faith, and that our own zeal may be increased to carry forward the great work of the church. This is an appropriate time, then, to review something of the history of home missions and with that as a background to appraise the needs and opportunities of the present. The manifold ways in which the present differs from the past do not require us to minimize our debt to the past or to deny that genuine continuity of experience which binds the one to the other.

In the preparation of this volume large use has been made of the results of the Five-Year Program of Survey and Adjustment, conducted under the joint auspices of the Home Missions Council, the

Council of Women for Home Missions, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and the Community Church Workers. The final report of this Five-Year Program was presented to its sponsoring organizations in January, 1934, and is embodied in the volume *Home Missions Today and Tomorrow*, prepared under the editorship of the present writer and published by the Home Missions Council. With the consent of the Council, the material in this report has been freely adapted or quoted, usually without specific acknowledgment. Liberal use has also been made of other publications of the Home Missions Council. It is therefore fitting to express here the indebtedness of the author to the many persons identified in various capacities with the work of home missions, whose generous cooperation made possible the Five-Year Program and its published report and who have thus contributed also to the preparation of this present volume.

HERMANN N. MORSE

February 1, 1935

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TOWARD A CHRISTIAN AMERICA

I

HOME MISSIONS AND THE CHRISTIAN IDEAL FOR AMERICA

WHAT sort of picture do the words "home missions" conjure up? To anyone who has had wide experience in the far-spread, many-sided enterprise that home missions has become, it is a picture that only an impressionistic artist might paint—a panoramic medley of sights and scenes all blending together.

Wilderness trails, prairies, mountains, deserts, rivers. Arctic wastes and tropical splendors. Men on horseback, women and children in covered wagons, stage coaches, railroads, automobiles and airplanes. A silent forest, a quiet countryside, a picturesque pueblo, a white-painted village. Thick-crowded derricks of an oil field, squalid huts of some mining town, bunkhouses of a deep-woods lumber camp. City slums and factories and suburbs. Cane and cotton fields, a cannery, a homesteader's ranch.

A long procession filing by, of people of many sorts. Dark-skinned Indians, Mexicans, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Negroes. Animated Italians and Portuguese. Taciturn mountaineers and plainsmen. Orientals and Eskimos, Germans, Scandinavians, Slavs, Armenians. We can recognize them all.

An Indian encampment on a winter night; a stern-visaged missionary preaching—that must be Jonathan Edwards. A missionary following a faint trail through the woods to a clearing where he will bring a message of comfort and cheer to lonely folk—that is Lorenzo Dow, or perhaps Jedediah Chapman. That village there with the white church and the manse beside it stands where that clearing was. An earnest young woman gathering a group of ragged Negro urchins about her in a school—that is Lucy Laney.

Over there a nurse is entering the door of a mountain cabin, or an Indian hogan, or an Eskimo igloo. A doctor is operating in a hospital room somewhere on the red desert. A missionary stands before a tent, a bugle at his lips, ready to summon the people from the surrounding hills to an evangelistic service.

There are a group of boys learning carpentry, a group of girls in a cooking class, a group of mothers in a home-making class. There is a Sunday school in session, there a crowded clinic, there a neighborhood house, there a church, there a college.

How many children there are in the picture! And how many people who look poor, or anxious, or sad, or lonely!

What does it all mean? It means that the Christian ideal for America, the purpose for which home missions exists, is that all places and all people may be reached with the Christian gospel and with a Christian ministry to every form of human need.

The complete history of home missions has never been written and it is no part of our present purpose to attempt it. Such a history would be in large measure the history of the church in America and in no inconsiderable degree the story of the nation as well. Here we have action and interaction. A growing church in a growing country, projecting itself into each newly opening field, not only followed the course of national development but in many cases led the way for it and helped to determine its direction and character, and in the process was itself not only enlarged but modified. So the church, which of conviction and necessity prosecuted its missionary enterprise, was in fact made by that enterprise into what it ultimately became. The significance of home missions is thus to be understood only in relation to the total task of the Christian church and to the inclusive purposes of the Christian religion as these are understood and accepted by the church. If its concerns have inevitably ranged beyond the normal interests of the church, this is only because it has represented the church in varied and changing situations often far from normal.

If we think of the task of the church as that of carrying forward the redemptive mission of Jesus Christ, we may think of home missions as the pioneering spirit of the church, to enable the church to project and maintain itself beyond its established routine. Home missions has always been dominantly adventurous and experimental and should always be

so. Its concern is with the frontiers of life. The frontier is the edge of the beyond, the unconquered fringe between what we have more or less securely subdued and what we have yet to explore.

MISSIONARY BEGINNINGS

Protestantism secured its first foothold in North America early in the seventeenth century. The desire for religious freedom and for safety from persecution joined hands with the spirit of adventure, the lure of commerce, the zeal for colonial expansion, and the desire of many to escape from the poverty and insecurity of their lot at home, to draw men of many types and backgrounds to the settlements established along the Atlantic seaboard from Maine to Georgia. Among them were representatives of many Protestant faiths—Episcopalian, Puritan, Dutch Reformed, Presbyterian, German and Swedish Lutheran, Quaker and Baptist.

Ministers accompanying the settlers or later sent from abroad preached in the more populous centers and among the scattered colonists and early undertook the conversion of the Indians. Religious societies in England and elsewhere contributed funds for the support of this work. The charter of the Massachusetts Colony in 1628 stated its "principall ende" to be "to wynn and incite the natives of the country to the knowledge of the onlie true God." In 1649 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England was organized by ordinance of the

British parliament to support "the preaching and propagating the gospel amongst the natives, and for the maintenance of schools and nurseries of learning for the education of the children of the natives." This society supported, among others, John Eliot, who by 1689 had established six Indian churches. The roll of missionary heroes of the seventeenth century includes such names as Roger Williams, founder of the Baptist church in America; John Campanius, Swedish Lutheran missionary to the Delaware Indians; Megapolensis, missionary of the Dutch Reformed church to the Indians of New York; and Francis Makemie, one of the fathers of American Presbyterianism.

A good many decades had to pass before the home mission enterprise began fairly to emerge from the informal, unorganized stage that marked its earliest years. With but few exceptions the missionaries were the pastors of churches who, on their own initiative and largely at their own expense, preached in such nearby settlements as they could reach. Not until the individual congregations had begun to associate themselves together in organized ecclesiastical bodies could a more formal basis for missionary effort readily be contemplated. When this was done a beginning was made in the establishment of "Pious Funds" (in some instances with assistance from abroad), in the taking of missionary collections, and in the definite assignment of fields of missionary labor.

Inevitably denominational organization preceded the organization of a missionary program which, quite as inevitably, became the chief reliance for the extension of the denominational interest. From about the middle of the eighteenth century on there were organized various missionary societies or associations for church extension into the newly settled regions. Throughout this century the steady incoming stream of settlers, scattering themselves ever more widely, contributed largely to the growth of the church as well as to the extent of the missionary problem. Thus, between 1730 and 1770, five hundred thousand Scotch-Irish settled in various seaboard colonies, centering in Pennsylvania, and penetrated in large numbers into Tennessee and Kentucky. By 1750 there were sixty thousand German and Swedish Lutherans in Pennsylvania alone, and forty years later the Lutheran stock was distributed all the way from Nova Scotia to Georgia.

Some great names in missionary history adorn the record of the middle and latter years of the century. There were the Moravians, Spangenberg and Nitschmann, who pioneered, the one in Georgia, the other in Pennsylvania, and Zeisberger, who for sixty-two years served among thirteen Indian tribes of the north. There were the Lutheran Mühlenberg; Otterbein, Pietist of the Reformed church who later became one of the founders of the United Brethren in Christ; Azariah Horton and David and

John Brainerd, Presbyterian missionaries to the Indians of New York and New Jersey.

The life of the saintly David Brainerd illustrates the far-reaching and often unsuspected effect of missions. He labored only a few years and died with a sense of failure heavy upon him. Nearly a hundred years later, Cyrus Byington, while serving as a missionary to the Cherokees "up the Missouri River, beyond the western limits of the state of that name," found a family descended from Indians converted under Brainerd's preaching. One of them, an old woman, remembered hearing her grandmother speak of Brainerd, whom she had known when she was a little girl and of whom she said: "He was a lovely man; he was a staff; he was a staff to walk with." And that was what home missions were to the insecurely established church all up and down the frontier —"a staff, a staff to walk with."

Later in the century other history-making names appear: Francis Asbury, founder of American Methodism and its first bishop; Thomas Coke, who was sent to America by Wesley to ordain Asbury; John McMillan, the first pastor west of the Alleghanies and the founder of Log Cabin College; MacGready, his pupil, who later played an important part in the Great Revival in Kentucky; Michael Schlatter and Johann Philip Boehm, outstanding missionaries of the German Reformed Church; Samuel Doak, a pioneer in Tennessee and founder of Washington College; and John Mulkey, Andrew Baker and Ed-

ward Kelly, pioneer Baptist preachers in southwest Virginia.

Something of the conception of missionary need which prevailed in the church is indicated in the following preamble of a resolution adopted by the Presbyterian Synod of New York asking each of its congregations for an annual collection to be "disposed of for pious uses":

> The Synod laying to heart the unhappy lot of many people in various parts of our land, who at present are brought up in ignorance, and that they and their families are perishing for lack of knowledge, who, on account of their poverty or scattered habitations, are unable without some assistance to support the gospel ministry among them; considering also, that it is their duty to send missionaries to the frontier settlements, who may preach to the dispersed families there, and form them into societies for the public worship of God, and being moved with compassion toward the Indians, especially those under our care, who are extremely poor and unable to teach their children to read, or to instruct them in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, have resolved to attempt their relief, and to instruct such as may be willing to hear the gospel.

That missionary zeal was inspired by nobler motives than the desire for sectarian advantage may be inferred from the text of a letter prepared by one general church body to be sent to the inhabitants of settlements visited by its missionaries, one paragraph of which reads thus:

> As our aim has not been to proselyte from other communions to our denomination, we have charged our mis-

sionaries to avoid all doubtful disputations, to abstain from unfriendly censures or reflections on other religious persuasions, and, adhering strictly to the great doctrines of our holy religion which influence the heart and life in the ways of godliness, to follow after the things that make for peace and general edification.

With the ending of the Revolutionary War and the adoption of the federal constitution in 1789, the stage was set for a new drama of national and missionary expansion, like none other in the history of the world. Church organizations and missionary programs genuinely national in outlook and scope were soon to come into existence. No one could be prophet enough to foretell the end from that beginning. But those who shaped the course of state and of church alike had a sense of destiny. The epoch of expansion was ushered in. With this our story of home missions, in a more nearly modern sense, may be said to begin. What had gone before was the prologue to the drama. Now the first act opens. The first scene may well be the Great Revival which, starting in Kentucky in the late nineties, had by 1800 swept over the nation until it affected every portion. This revival movement, itself a direct outgrowth of mission work and a product of conditions on the frontier, was one of the decisive factors in the stimulation of Christian advance in both missionary and educational work.

By this time the vision of what should be included in a missionary program was being steadily broad-

ened. A report adopted by a denominational assembly in 1800 listed four objects, in addition to the work of frontier itineration, as deserving consideration, with a significant emphasis upon education and practical service as well as on evangelism:

1. The "gospelizing" of the Indians on the frontier, connected with a plan for their civilization, the want of which has been believed to be a great cause of failure of former attempts to spread Christianity among them.

2. The instruction of the Negroes, the poor, and those who are destitute of the means of grace, in various parts of the country.

3. The distribution of Bibles and other religious books.

4. The provision of a fund for instruction of candidates for the ministry.

AFTER THE GREAT REVIVAL

One of the immediate evidences of the effect of the Great Revival in stimulating the whole missionary enterprise was the founding, during the first third of the century, of a considerable number of missionary boards or societies. These were for the most part denominational, but a few were interdenominational or without any denominational connection. The foreign mission agencies established in this period regarded the Indians as a part of their responsibility and sent workers into remote parts of the home field as well as to distant continents. These

new organizations made possible the rapid extension and energetic prosecution of the missionary enterprise. From this point on the story moves so swiftly and its scene shifts and broadens so constantly that we can do no more than indicate, by a few selected episodes, the nature of the course it followed.

The one missionary pathfinder who will serve best to illustrate the transition from the unorganized efforts of colonial days to the newly developing programs of the nineteenth century is Samuel J. Mills. Young Mills had desired to go to the foreign field. Disappointed in this, he accepted a commission from the Massachusetts and Connecticut Missionary societies and turned his attention to the rapidly developing territory of the Ohio and Mississippi river valleys. In 1812, accompanied by John F. Schermerhorn, he started on his first great missionary tour, from which he returned in 1813. On this and on a second tour in the following year he explored the territory west of the Alleghanies from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. Returning east, he pleaded for missionaries to be sent to this great southwest country. He declared that "the whole country, from Lake Erie to the Gulf of Mexico, is as the valley of the shadow of death. Darkness rests upon it. . . . This vast country contains more than a million of inhabitants. Their number is every year increased by a mighty flood of emigration." He described districts east of the Mississippi, through which he had passed, as containing from

twenty to fifty thousand people without a single minister. His appeals deeply stirred the church throughout the East, which moved quickly now to meet this dramatic missionary challenge.

Before twenty years had passed after Mills' journeys, missionaries were scattered through all the territory from Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan in the North to Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas in the South. The list of those who were the empire builders of the church in this great area now becomes too long even for the bare recital of their names. The initial entry made, there ensued the long and arduous process of extending and making secure the establishment of the church, which often called for as much physical hardihood and personal courage as had the preliminary explorations.

Any one of a hundred might serve almost equally well to illustrate the story of how intimately many of these pioneer missionaries identified themselves with the whole religious and educational development of these rapidly growing commonwealths. One of whom this was true to an unusual degree was John Mason Peck, a contemporary of Peter Cartwright, Samuel J. Mills and Salmon Giddings and for forty years an outstanding Baptist missionary leader. While his life work was chiefly in Illinois, his influence was by no means confined to that state and he, more than any other one man, was the pioneer of the national program of Baptist home missions and the

founder of the American Baptist Home Mission Society.

As a young minister in eastern New York, Peck came under the influence of one of Adoniram Judson's associates in Burma—Luther Rice, who had just returned to America to awaken in Baptist churches a sense of their world-wide mission. His own zeal for missions kindled, Peck turned his eyes toward the West where, as he himself put it, it was his "desire to live, to labor, to die as a kind of pioneer in advancing the gospel." After a period of preparation he was appointed by the Baptist board of foreign missions as a missionary to the Missouri territory.

Peck started for his new field from his father's home in Litchfield, Connecticut, in July, 1817. After a long and arduous journey he reached St. Louis on the first of December, just a few days after Salmon Giddings had organized there the first Protestant church in the community. Then followed strenuous years of itineration among the scattered settlements of Missouri and Illinois. In 1820, the board of foreign missions withdrew its support from the mission, desiring to confine its interest in the home field to work among Indians. Peck, however, continued in the course he had mapped out for himself, for two years supporting himself from the proceeds of a farm which he rented. In 1822, the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society came to his assistance with a modest grant. Peck now estab-

lished himself at Rock Spring, Illinois, which soon became Baptist headquarters for that entire section.

From then until his death in 1858 this man, who came to be widely known and respected as the "Sage of Rock Spring," exerted an unceasing influence in behalf of all that went to the making of a Christian commonwealth. An advocate of higher education for clergymen and a firm believer in the importance of good public schools, he founded at Rock Spring the academy which later became Shurtleff College. He was a leader in the movement for temperance and in the opposition to slavery. Everywhere he encouraged the founding and development of churches and Sunday schools and the distribution and study of the Bible. He supported the earliest movements for improved agriculture and for good roads. He edited a Baptist newspaper and through his many books contributed more to the early literature of the state than any other one man. His *Guide for Emigrants*, published soon after Illinois became a state, was the accepted handbook on the West of his day. John Reynolds, fourth governor of Illinois, who wrote and, at his own expense, published a life of John Mason Peck, described him as "the most learned and best-informed man in the valley of the Mississippi" and paid high tribute to his eminence in many fields of public interest.

Of such stuff were those men made who first planted the church in the wilderness and nurtured it through all the formative years. Theirs was no

narrow vision. Nothing that touched the welfare of this new country was outside their concern. The foundations they laid were broad and strong and have endured.

MISSIONARY MOTIVE

These missionary beginnings had in them the germ of what the home mission enterprise was to become. They show why it may truly be said that the story of home missions is inextricably a part of the story of the nation. Its expansion was a result of the same forces that made the nation. It drove forward under the impulse of the same psychology that animated the pioneers in other lines of progress. Its motives and ideals were higher than those which often characterized the frontier, although it did not escape altogether either the excesses of zeal or the narrowing influences that are a part of the social pattern of frontier life. But it was a genuine effort to give spiritual reality to that American ideal which James Truslow Adams has described as a "dream of a land in which life shall be better and richer and fuller for every man . . . a dream of a social order in which each man and each woman shall be able to attain to the fullest stature of which they are innately capable."[1] The church set itself the task of making religious privilege and a Christian standard of living part and parcel of that "better and richer and fuller" life for every man within our national

[1] *The Epic of America,* p. 404.

bounds. That was the part of home missions in the American dream.

He who studies the lives of missionary heroes, or who diligently seeks to discover what has moved the church to initiate and sustain the missionary enterprise, is not likely to be misled into supposing that any mere organizational loyalty or humanitarian enthusiasm could account for what he finds. That such loyalty and enthusiasm have played their part, sometimes worthily and sometimes not, no one will deny. But behind and under and around them has been something infinitely greater and more potent—a living faith in the uniqueness and all-sufficiency of Jesus Christ. One can explain the mission school, the hospital, the community station, and even, in some of its manifestations, the church, on grounds of human well-being and sound social policy. But much more is needed to explain the larger aspect of the church and of its missionary enterprise. That "much more" is its Christian faith. Without a clear-cut, positive Christian gospel, home missions would not have been, would not be today. Some of its particular tasks would be carried on, but the missionary enterprise, as such, would cease to be.

This is a case in which the obvious interpretation is also the truest. Home missions is, in its motivation and purpose, a program of religious work, essentially and fundamentally a spiritual undertaking. And that means that, however much one emphasizes its concern with social or educational or economic

or moral issues, its primary concern is religious and spiritual. However great a value one sets upon its institutional and service accomplishments, these do not hold its most essential value. The purpose of home missions has been to present Christ to men and to impress his spirit upon the life of each generation in turn. This spiritual and evangelical goal home missions has always accepted without reservation.

The essence of the matter lies in the conviction of the church that the Christian religion is, in the profoundest sense, a missionary religion, and that, therefore, the true Christian church must be a missionary church. Could the Christian church conceivably have become what it is had it proceeded on any basis other than that of the great commandment? The wife of an early missionary pioneer, when a particularly arduous journey was in prospect, was asked about its probable effect upon her health. She replied, "I will go. I like the command just as it stands, 'Go ye into all the world,' without any exceptions for poor health." So we may interpret the response of home missions to the Christian ideal for America as obedience to a command that permitted no exceptions.

II

HOME MISSIONS REACHES OUT

WITHIN the decade of the 1930's fall the one hundredth anniversaries of four great missionary episodes that well exemplify the qualities which the missionary enterprise required and found forthcoming in such abundant measure. Both for their intrinsic merit and for the effect they were to have upon the course of subsequent events, these episodes are well worth holding in the memory of the church. The first concerns the service of Samuel Worcester to the Cherokees, in the course of which he found himself a prisoner for conscience' sake and occasioned a deliverance, momentous for the Indians as for himself, of the United States Supreme Court. The second and third belong together, the stories of Jason Lee and Marcus Whitman, who permanently affected the Northwest. The fourth is the saga of the Dakota Indians and of the ministry among them of Samuel and Gideon Pond, Thomas S. Williamson and Stephen R. Riggs.

A MISSIONARY REBEL

When Samuel A. Worcester was graduated from Andover Theological Seminary in 1823, the Cherokee Indians were very much in the public mind.

At the close of the Revolutionary War they had held title to a great tract of over forty-five million acres of land in the South. Through successive treaties this had been reduced, by 1823, to no more than eight million acres. Settlers were overrunning the whole region and clashes with the Indians were frequent. An uprising of the Creeks had been suppressed by the army. The resultant situation was widely discussed and many felt that the Indians were being treated with great injustice.

Missionary work had been carried on among the Cherokees for some time. The earliest mission was established by the Moravians. Subsequently Gideon Blackburn worked among them, preaching and conducting a school. Other missionaries followed. The Cherokee alphabet had been invented, but as yet there was no literature in that language. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, anxious to strengthen its work in this field, welcomed the opportunity to commission so scholarly an applicant as young Worcester, one of whose tasks was to be the translation of the New Testament. He was ordained in 1825 and in the fall of that year began his work at Brainerd, in eastern Tennessee, moving three years later to New Echota, Georgia, to which place the capital of the Cherokee nation was removed. Here he had the cooperation not only of other white missionaries but also of several native interpreters of far more than average education and ability.

The rights of the Indians to the lands which they now held were guaranteed to them under solemn treaties entered into with the United States government. Nevertheless, settlers continually trespassed upon their lands. Georgia desired and later demanded the removal of the Cherokees from the state and through legislative enactments asserted the authority of the state over the reservations in direct violation of the existing treaties. Against the injustice of this course the missionaries protested vigorously but in vain. A law was then passed requiring the missionaries either to take the oath of allegiance to the state of Georgia, thus acquiescing in laws they considered unjust, or leave the state. They refused to do either, considering that the one alternative meant to betray the trust of the Indians in them and that the other would be a counsel of cowardice. They therefore continued in their work and boldly denounced the injustice that was being practised against the Cherokees.

During the year 1831, Dr. Worcester was four times arrested and marched away to prison, being treated with great rudeness and subjected to many insults. Three times he was released but, following his fourth arrest in September, he and his associate, Dr. Butler, were sentenced to four years' imprisonment at hard labor in the state penitentiary. Their case was carried by appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, where the celebrated lawyer, William Wirt, pleaded their cause. The Supreme Court

decided in their favor and said "they must be released," but the governor said he would obey the mandate of the court "only at the point of the bayonet."

In January, 1833, after an imprisonment of sixteen months, anxious to avoid the inevitable conflict that must ensue if they continued legal action and content now to rest upon their acquittal by the highest tribunal of the land, they notified the governor that they had sent word to their attorneys not to press the case further. Seven days later the governor opened the doors of their prison. They at once returned to their work among the Cherokees. They never took the obnoxious oath, but Dr. Worcester shortly afterward moved from the state to his former station at Brainerd, where he remained until the removal of the tribe to the Indian Territory was finally decided upon. That issue of the conflict was inevitable. The Supreme Court had cleared Worcester of guilt but had made it plain that the Indian could not look to that court for the defense of his rights. A state could apparently override solemn treaty obligations with impunity. A new treaty of removal was negotiated, signed only by sixty unauthorized representatives of the tribe, and the Indians were soon on the way along the "Trail of Tears" to their new home beyond the Mississippi.

When this decision was definitely fixed, Dr. Worcester went on ahead to the Indian Territory to prepare the way for them. There he settled at Park

Hill and continued his missionary labor among them until his death in 1859. During his thirty-four years of labor, he translated the Bible and gave the Indians their hymnbook. He maintained a printing press on which he printed the Scriptures and many hymns, and also the *Yearly Almanac* which he published for many years. He was not only a religious leader to the Cherokees and their eloquent advocate at the bar of public opinion, but also their teacher in many of the practical concerns of life. He stamped the imprint of his Christian character indelibly upon the life of the whole Cherokee nation.

BREAKING TRAIL TO THE NORTHWEST

In 1804-5, Captains Lewis and Clark made the first genuine exploration of the Pacific Northwest, completing the long and arduous journey which within the space of eighteen months took them from the mouth of the Missouri River to the mouth of the Oregon. In the course of this journey they came into friendly contact with the Indians of eastern Oregon, a meeting from which proceeded a long chain of events of momentous importance in home missions history. In 1832, four Indian chiefs were commissioned by their people to seek out Captain Clark (now General Clark) at St. Louis. They traversed the intervening distance of nearly three thousand miles on foot. The story of their mission is best told in the words of William Walker, a half-breed Wyandotte Indian, who wrote, in a letter to Mr. G. P.

Disosway, of New York, an account of an interview he had with them. He described the purpose of their journey as follows:

It appeared that some white man had penetrated into their country and happened to be a spectator at one of their religious ceremonies, which they scrupulously perform at stated periods. He informed them that their mode of worshiping the Supreme Being was radically wrong, and instead of being acceptable and pleasing, it was displeasing to him; he also informed them that the white people, away toward the rising of the sun, had been put in possession of the true mode of worshiping the Great Spirit. They had a book containing the directions how to conduct themselves in order to enjoy his favor and hold converse with him; and with this guide no one need go astray, but everyone that would follow the directions laid down there could enjoy, in this life, his favor, and after death would be received into the country where the Great Spirit resides, and live forever with him.

Upon receiving this information they called a national council to take this subject into consideration. Some said: if this be true, it is certainly high time that we were put in possession of this mode, and if our mode of worshiping be wrong and displeasing to the Great Spirit, it is high time we laid it aside. We must know something more about this; it is a matter that cannot be put off; the sooner we know it the better. They accordingly deputed four of their chiefs to proceed to St. Louis to see their Great Father, General Clark, to inquire of him, having no doubt but he would tell them the whole truth about it.

They arrived at St. Louis and presented themselves to General Clark. The latter was somewhat puzzled, being sensible of the responsibility that rested on him. He, however, proceeded by informing them that what they had been

told by the white man in their own country was true. He then went into a succinct history of man from his creation down to the advent of the Savior; explained to them all the moral precepts contained in the Bible, expounded to them the decalogue, informed them of the advent of the Savior, his life, precepts, his death, resurrection, ascension, and the relation he now stands to man as a mediator—that he will judge the world, etc.

Poor fellows, they were not all permitted to return home to their people with the intelligence. Two died in St. Louis, and the remaining two, though somewhat indisposed, set out for their native land. Whether they reached home or not is not known.

History tells us that but one of these men survived the journey, and that he and his companion had left St. Louis without having secured a copy of the Book of Life which was the object of their quest. This story and the letter of William Walker, circulated widely through the churches in the East, created a profound impression. Almost immediately plans began to be formulated for two different and independent missions to the Northwest.

Walker's letter was dated January, 1833. In March of that year Dr. Wilbur Fisk, president of Wesleyan University, wrote to the New York *Christian Advocate and Journal* proposing that a mission be established among the Flathead Indians at once. "Let two suitable men, unencumbered with families, and possessing the spirit of martyrs, throw themselves into the nation, live with them—learn their language—preach Christ to them and, as the way

opens, introduce schools, agriculture, and the arts of civilized life. . . . Money shall be forthcoming. *I will be bondsman for the church.*" He knew, said Dr. Fisk, of one young man suited to the enterprise who, he thought, would go. That young man was Jason Lee. Lee consented to undertake the mission and was ordained for that purpose in June. The Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church made an appropriation for the mission. A year was spent in making the necessary preparations and securing the needed funds. The start was finally made in the spring of 1834. Lee was accompanied by his nephew, as a preacher assistant, and three others. They traveled west from Independence, Missouri, in company with a party of fur traders. The main ridge of the Rockies was crossed in July. On July 27, at Fort Hall, Idaho, Lee conducted the first formal religious service held in the interior west of the Rockies. In September he reached Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River, the first missionary, Roman Catholic or Protestant, to enter the Oregon country.

It is an interesting fact that Lee was not destined ever to preach the Word to that tribe whose quest for the Book had been the immediate occasion of his own quest. That privilege was reserved for another. Lee's mission was elsewhere. The difficulty of transporting into the far interior the supplies that had been sent by vessel, among other factors, entered into his decision to settle near the coast.

In any event, his was the only mission party in that whole great territory and the need was as great in one direction as another. In due course a site for the mission was selected on the bank of the Willamette River in the heart of that beautiful valley. To this point, by dint of prodigious labor, the supplies were brought and the first building of the mission was erected. Here a school was started and preaching services were held for the Indians.

The mission did not greatly prosper, at least in any outward seeming. Disease was rife among the Indians, and, even with the reinforcements who had arrived in 1837, the group of workers was all too few to make much headway against such great odds. So in 1838, Lee made the long trip overland to the East to secure other recruits and needed funds. Upon his return the headquarters of the mission were moved to the site where the capital of the state now stands. Here more extensive and adequate buildings were erected. Other missions were established, as, for example, at The Dalles where great revivals took place among the Indians and hundreds were converted. Still the work did not prosper as he desired that it should. Once again Lee made the long trip east to resubmit his program to the supporting board. While resting from his arduous labors preparatory to the return journey, he died, in 1845. He had burned out the strength in his giant body in the service of his Master.

Lee's was a strange fate. The service he enlisted

to perform was never his to undertake. The task to which he devoted eleven years of herculean labor must have seemed to him to have all but ended in failure. Yet he laid foundations that still endure, and others built on them an edifice of which he could not have dreamed. During his years in the Oregon country it was his lot

> not only to preach the first sermon and establish the first church, but also to set up the first Christian home, to lay the foundations for elementary schools, to set in motion the first institution for higher education, to draft the first petition from Oregon to Congress for the establishment of an American government in that wilderness, to break the cattle monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company, to set up the first temperance society, and to lead in the first movement for organized American government in Oregon. Rarely is it given to any one man to pioneer in so many different fields in so important a territory. It is little wonder that, in a most conspicuous spot in the capitol building, the state of Oregon has placed an imposing picture of Jason Lee and, under it, written these words: "Jason Lee, Father of American Oregon."[1]

At about the time Lee was making his first journey across the continent the way was being opened for another notable missionary enterprise inspired by the same story. At a meeting of the Presbyterian Church of Ithaca, New York, it was "resolved to send and support the Oregon mission of the Reverend Samuel Parker." He enlisted as his later associate Dr. Marcus Whitman. Parker had written the

[1] Quoted from an editorial in *The Pastor's Journal*, January, 1933.

American Board in April, 1833, volunteering for this task. Delayed by a combination of adverse circumstances, he devoted the intervening months to lecturing on missions. In November, 1834, he was heard by Dr. Marcus Whitman, a Presbyterian elder and a practising physician, who at once volunteered to accompany him.

An initial trip of exploration was made in 1835, to determine the practicability of an Oregon mission. They proceeded as far as Green River, Wyoming, where an important council was held with the Indians. The result was so encouraging that it was determined that Dr. Whitman should return east, accompanied by two Indian boys, to report to the American Board, while Dr. Parker pushed on to the Columbia. The American Board upon receiving the report of Dr. Whitman decided to occupy the field at once. The following year, Dr. Whitman, who in the meantime had married, started on his second journey. Accompanying him, in addition to Mrs. Whitman and the two Indian boys, were the Reverend and Mrs. Henry H. Spalding, Mr. William H. Gray and two teamsters. This was the first trip by wagon over the Rockies into Oregon. In July, at Green River, they were met by a deputation of Cayuse and Nez Percé Indians. They reached Fort Walla Walla on September 1.

Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding were the first white women ever to cross the continent. It was no ordinary faith that gave them the courage to make

the venture and sustained them undaunted by danger and distress. Mr. Spalding later said of them that there was not gold enough in America to induce them to make this journey, but that one verse in the New Testament, "Go ye and teach all nations," sufficed to send them forth.

Whitman began work among the Cayuses at Wai-i-latpu, while Spalding settled at Lapwai among the Nez Percés. Of the latter's service we need not speak at length here save to say that as a result of the work then begun this peaceful tribe was early won to Christianity and became a great force, under its own leaders, for the spread of the gospel among other tribes of the Northwest. Our tale concerns Marcus Whitman. Overcoming every obstacle, within three years he had over two hundred and fifty acres of land enclosed and two hundred acres under good cultivation. Buildings had been erected. Throughout a large territory within a circuit of a hundred miles he served as preacher, teacher and physician. He continued at that labor until the winter of 1842-43, when a band of settlers reached Wai-i-latpu bringing disquieting news of the political development affecting the future relation of the Northwest to the United States. This was the occasion of Whitman's historic journey to Washington to plead the case of Oregon before President Tyler and the Secretary of State and to lead, on the return journey, a great caravan of settlers. This achievement was one of the factors influential in ultimately fixing

the boundary between the British possessions and the United States.

This task completed, Whitman returned to his little church and his mission at Wai-i-latpu, devoting himself anew to his real mission. But he was not to carry on there for long. The Cayuse Indians were becoming increasingly hostile, inflamed by those who were inimical to the work of the missionaries. At last the outbreak came and a savage band fell upon the mission and Dr. and Mrs. Whitman with twelve others were brutally massacred by those for whom they had labored for eleven years. The church at Wai-i-latpu is still carried on the rolls of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., with the laconic footnote: "Organized August 18, 1838. Dissolved by massacre, November 29, 1847."

AMONG THE DAKOTAS

A mission enterprise which had to overcome forbidding obstacles but which was rewarded with great success was that among the warlike Dakota Indians, first begun in 1834. The pioneers in this field were Samuel and Gideon Pond, two scholarly young laymen from Ohio, who, upon their own initiative and at their own expense, undertook this dangerous task. Without awaiting the formality of an appointment by any mission agency, they went to Fort Snelling, Minnesota, the army post for that frontier country. They settled on the shore of Lake Calhoun, near the present site of Minneapolis, and

began their work by teaching the Indians to farm.

In the autumn of 1834 the American Board commissioned the Reverend Thomas S. Williamson, M.D., as a missionary to the Dakotas. He reached Fort Snelling in May of the following year. Here he joined forces with the Ponds. During a brief stay at this post he organized a church among the white residents. A month later, in company with Joseph Renville, a half-breed fur trader, he journeyed westward two hundred miles to Lac-qui-parle, "the lake that speaks," where Renville had a trading post. The report of the establishment of a mission at this point did much to stimulate the interest in missions in the church. Renville had learned something of Christianity and was deeply interested in the work of the missionaries. Since he knew both Dakota and French he was of great assistance to them. Lac-qui-parle continued to be Dr. Williamson's headquarters for some years and at this place he was later joined by the Reverend and Mrs. Stephen R. Riggs, who also were commissioned by the American Board.

Through many years Williamson and Riggs devoted much time to the work of translation into the Dakota language. They were the first to reduce it to written form. Realizing the power of song, they early turned their attention to the writing of hymns, setting them to familiar hymn tunes. A Dakota-English dictionary followed and later the Shorter Catechism. Before Dr. Williamson's death the entire

Bible had been given to the Dakotas in their own language.

For many years the work of the mission moved slowly forward, proceeding on the familiar pattern developed through experience with other savage tribes. Churches and Sunday schools were established and many converts won. The Indians were taught to farm. An industrial school taught knowledge of practical arts. Dr. Williamson, a trained physician, ministered to their bodily ills. Thus the enterprise went forward until 1862. In that year there was a great Indian uprising, during which five hundred white settlers were slain. Missions were abandoned, churches deserted, and the missionaries constrained to seek a place of safety. The uprising was finally put down and four hundred Indians, believed to have participated in the massacre, were imprisoned. Dr. Williamson and other missionaries preached to them in prison and very many were reported to have been converted. Later, when the Indians who were released from prison were taken to Niobrara, Nebraska, two churches previously organized among them at Fort Snelling and at Mankato were united with a membership of nearly five hundred. As an ultimate result of this uprising the power of paganism was broken and practically the whole tribe was won to Christianity.

Dr. Williamson remained at his task until his death in 1879, a continuous service of forty-four years. His son, John P. Williamson, served the

Dakotas for a period of fifty-seven years. Dr. Riggs served almost until his death in 1883, a period of forty-six years. Several of his children entered the same service, and a grandson, Frederick B. Riggs, served until 1933. The work of the Williamsons in due course came under the jurisdiction of the Presbyterian church, that of the Riggses continuing under Congregational auspices. Sixty organized churches with a communicant membership of about three thousand and a constituency of perhaps five thousand more, twenty ordained native ministers and more than that number of lay workers, five schools and many unorganized stations attest the lasting results of the work of these courageous men.

These four stories have been told not merely, or chiefly, because the centennial anniversaries of these ventures of faith fall within this decade, but because they illustrate so well the appeals that moved the church of their time and the qualities that directed the course of home missions for many decades. That the motive of denominational extension played its part is evident. But is it not equally evident that these missionary pioneers and their successors, loyal as they were to their particular churches, were moved most of all by a profound unselfishness which led them to endure all things for the sake of the kingdom?

III

HOME MISSIONS COMES OF AGE

WE HAVE seen how closely the development of home missions, from the outset, paralleled the development of the country. Its beginnings go back to the beginnings of permanent settlement. It was breaking its first trails soon after the earliest settlers were breaking theirs. Its line of extension was the line of population movement which, for the most part, it followed closely. It began to take on a settled form as the country emerged from the raw pioneer stage and itself assumed a more settled aspect. At all stages its controlling points of view and social outlook were those of its time and place. It was an individualized or localized effort as long as the country itself was lacking in any sense of unity and coherence. It began to become national in conception and purpose as a nation began to emerge out of a loose confederation of colonies. It extended its boundaries as the nation expanded its settled territory and broadened its vision as the nation grew in intellectual and spiritual stature.

If we review this development, the necessity for its varied forms of pioneering early becomes clear. It was born of the need to minister to "the heathen

within our bounds," as the old phrase had it, and to carry the gospel to newly established settlements. It followed the moving populations, carrying some form of service to the most remote sections. As the process of colonization spread and became more diversified, it made the church and the ministries of the Christian religion available to all kinds of people under all sorts of conditions. It pioneered not only in every new territory, but in every changing phase of national progress that threatened the stability or limited the influence of churches already established. In time it accepted the responsibility to sustain what it had earlier founded. It championed the cause of the neglected, the alien, the handicapped, the wronged. It sought constructive measures to ameliorate the lot of those who lagged behind in the march of progress. Its range of interests came to comprehend in some measure almost every field of vital Christian concern. Not infrequently it blazed the trail to new forms and methods of education, of social service, even of economic improvement, as well as of adapted programs of religious work.

The frontier, in one form or another, always provided the real occasion and stimulus for missionary effort. During the decades of national expansion, we thought of the frontier as comprising the areas of new settlements, where the institutions of religion were not yet established, or where they could be maintained only through outside help. "Church ex-

tension" had a definite, obvious meaning. The church had to be "extended" into the areas and communities where it was not. The urgency of that process was easy to understand and easy to dramatize. That sort of frontier could hardly elude the intelligence of the dullest. But as the nation developed it was not always so obvious where the frontier was, or what it was. It appeared now here, now there, as something new and vital challenged the church—the discovery of neglected communities or of unreached populations, often living in the very shadow of the church; the realization of vital human needs for which Christianity has the answer; and the knowledge of the manifold ministries to misery and sin waiting to be performed. Always this frontier was the line drawn between the known and the unknown, between the attained and the unattained; the borderline between what the church could already grasp and what it was reaching out for.

Given a missionary zeal in the church, the course of national development made inevitable the unparalleled expansion, both in geographical extent and in diversity of interest, of the missionary enterprise. That this was so was the result of a combination of factors which should now be considered.

WHAT MADE IT GROW?

1. Area and Population

In 1800 the home mission field meant the states adjacent to the seaboard from Maine to Georgia,

with Tennessee, West Virginia, Kentucky and Ohio. The whole territory west of the Alleghanies had in that year about a third of a million white settlers. The Louisiana Purchase practically doubled the area of the United States, which, in 1819, was further increased by the acquisition of Florida. In the first third of the century, population pushed rapidly westward to the Mississippi and beyond and southward to the Gulf. Then came the annexation of Texas in 1845 and of California and adjoining territory in the southwest in 1848, the settlement of the northwest boundary in 1846, definitely establishing the Oregon Territory as a part of the United States, and the Gadsden Purchase in 1853. The settlement of the Pacific coast began in earnest after 1850 and the development of the intervening territory followed hard after. Alaska was purchased in 1867, but white immigration to that territory did not begin on any considerable scale until nearly thirty years later. The Spanish-American War resulted in the acquisition of Puerto Rico and the opening of both Puerto Rico and Cuba to entry by the missionary forces. Somewhat later conditions became favorable for the entry of missionaries from the United States into the Dominican Republic, Haiti and the Virgin Islands.

Much of the nineteenth century was dominated by the dream of national expansion. Variously expressed, "manifest destiny" was its essential doctrine, both politically and ecclesiastically. Almost to

the end of the century the church lived by the text: "There is yet much new land to be possessed"—in its literal meaning. This dictated the dominant missionary strategy for many decades. Missionary reports were punctuated with canals, caravan routes and railroads, illustrated with clearings, blockhouses and new town sites. Yesterday a trackless wilderness, today a trail, tomorrow a well-traveled roadway. Yesterday an Indian hunting ground, today a homestead, tomorrow a city. Yesterday an explorer, today an itinerant missionary, tomorrow a church and congregation with a settled minister. Such was the story, repeated over and over again—now along the seaboard, now in the interior valleys of the coastal states, now in the Mississippi basin, now on the western plains, now on the shores of the Pacific.

Not for many years did the church lose the sense of strain involved in that process. It was a strenuous business. The frontier line was a flitting mirage, never overtaken. As late as 1881 we find such a statement as this in a mission board report:

> Characteristic of the age, the work of a generation is upon us, demanding that it be done in a year. If the country would only open up gradually, and the people go in by degrees, in the good old-fashioned way, we might trudge along and do our work fairly well. But when the country *will* all open up at once, and people move in in a body, and from the British possessions to the Gulf overturn things and fling the frontier one hundred miles out into the wilderness annually, what are we to do? Just such is the problem before us.

From 1800 to 1860 the population of the United States increased at a practically constant ratio of about thirty-five per cent each decade. After the Civil War the growth proceeded at a lower and an almost steadily decreasing rate. Many of the older missionary publications contained estimates of the anticipated population of the United States in the twentieth century, based on the rate of growth in the early decades of the nineteenth century, which far overshot the mark. Nevertheless the increase of missionary responsibility indicated by the total population figures is impressive enough. In 1800 the population was 5,300,000. At the end of the century it was just under 76,000,000. On July 1, 1934, it was estimated at 126,425,000, including continental United States only.

Total figures, however, hardly tell the story until one relates them to what has been said of territorial expansion and sees how one section after another has had its period, sometimes brief and sometimes protracted, of extraordinary growth. This it was that exerted the tremendous pressure upon the church. Thus Ohio, Indiana and Illinois increased in population fivefold in one decade, threefold in the next and twofold in the next. Michigan in one decade increased sevenfold. Later, within one period of thirty years, the whole area west of the Mississippi increased its population fourfold.

Some conception of the rapidity with which the continent was settled may be gained from the fact

that there were in 1800 only 903 post-offices; in 1900, there were 76,688. The great trek of the covered wagon across the continent began in 1830 when the first caravan started westward from St. Louis. This process of dispersion has not yet ended, though it has long since been slowed up as the contrary process of concentration has gathered headway. But while it was at full tide the church labored always under a sense of strain and confusion. Said the annual report of the American Home Missionary Society in 1849:

> This year we have also found the Far West; which had been here, and there, and everywhere, and yet we had not been able to reach it. Before we could get to it, it was gone. Fifty years ago, it seemed to be in central New York; forty years ago, in New Connecticut; twenty years ago, in Indiana and Illinois; and fifteen years ago, to be meditating the passage of the upper Mississippi. But, this year, it has made its permanent settlement on the shores of the Pacific, and men are calling unto us from thence for the bread of life—the Pacific unto the Atlantic—deep calling unto deep.

What occasioned the statement just quoted was the acquisition of California and the discovery of gold there. Gold was the magnet that lured a steady stream of adventurers by devious routes to this new El Dorado. Not long afterward the population began to flow from both East and West into the Rocky Mountain states. After the Civil War vast areas of the West were opened to homesteading and an era of unexampled development was inaugurated. The

method used was not often so dramatic as that by which the territory that is now Oklahoma was opened to white settlement, with a mob of prospective settlers lined up at a starting line awaiting a signal like greyhounds straining at the leash. But it was everywhere dramatic enough. New towns by the score sprang into existence almost overnight. The psychology of the frontier was nothing if not optimistic. It seemed as though there could be no limit to the growth that was impending. The church struggled valiantly to provide men and money sufficient to care for the religious needs of this newly settled empire.

The announcement of the Federal Census Bureau in 1890 that the frontier had disappeared marked the completion of one phase of national growth. The significance of this announcement is easily misunderstood. It did not mean that the day of the pioneer was over or that the migration of homesteaders into unsettled sections had ceased. Quite the contrary was the case. But the last of the great unsettled tracts had been thrown open to entry. There was no new habitable land left to be discovered. When in 1869 the golden spike was driven which united two great railroad systems, forming the first transcontinental railway linking the East with the new West, the period of expansion entered upon its last phase. But it was to be yet many years before the movement of population out of old into new areas ceased to be a dominating concern.

Both the direction and the extent of this movement proved to a degree unpredictable, whether thought of in terms of particular communities, states or areas, or in terms of types of life or kinds of people. Mechanical inventions, better transportation facilities, the discovery of minerals, industrial development, the opening of new markets at home or abroad were continually interjecting unfamiliar elements into the situation. The whole process was one that made for optimism, adventure, experimentation, social plasticity, change. At the same time, it very early came about that there were older sections that found themselves in the ebb of the tide, so that retardation and even stagnation became problems even before the country as a whole was well out of its swaddling clothes.

2. Changes in Type and Distribution of Population

Of greater importance for home missions than the simple increase in area and numbers was the fact that our national growth was not merely as the adding of two and two and two. The second two and the third two were different from the first and from each other. From time to time the church discovered that some particular area or population or problem presented an altogether unique aspect, requiring some modification in approach. Such modifications were for the most part purely experimental, not soon or readily accepted in theory. But each contributed to the variegated pattern of mission work.

In 1800 we were a relatively homogeneous population, predominantly in rural communities. While there were, of course, marked social and economic differences between different sections of the country and different elements of the population, the most significant difference was that between the new frontier settlements and the older communities. There were at that time only six places in the United States of more than 8,000 population and these contained only four per cent of the total. No city had reached 100,000. The Indians and the Negro slaves were the only racial groups whose conditions particularly challenged the church. Such a situation seems extremely simple in the light of subsequent developments. Each decade has shown an increasing proportion of our population living in urban centers. The growth of cities began in a marked way about 1880. Ten years later, in 1890, there were twenty-six cities of over 100,000 population. Today there are fifty-six cities with between 100,000 and 250,000; twenty-four cities with between 250,000 and 500,000; eight cities with between 500,000 and 1,000,000; five cities with over 1,000,000. Nearly half our total population is found in these ninety-three cities, many of which are growing at a rate exceeding the rate of growth of the population as a whole by five times or more. As late as 1860 only one person in six lived in a place of over 8,000 population. Now one person in six lives in a city of over 1,000,000 population.

Immigration from Europe began seriously to concern the church as early as 1840. A writer shortly after that date in *The Missionary Chronicle* deplores the fact that "the scum of Europe" are beginning to come to America. The flood of immigrants entering the United States, 35,000,000 in the past one hundred and fifteen years, has not, since 1860, increased the proportion of our total population who are foreign-born. But it has completely altered the complexion of the social and economic life of many sections of our country.

Quite early, at least some of the missionary leaders of the church began to apprehend the missionary significance of that philosophy of race which was so strongly to influence the later course of national development. A missionary magazine in 1849 said of the influx of immigrants into the central West:

> Immigration from abroad is rapidly becoming a portentous fact: and whether the portent be for good or for ill, depends on the way in which we meet it. The number of foreigners arriving here in 1848, through the Atlantic ports and through Canada, is estimated at 300,000; and the causes that operate to stimulate emigration from Europe are in undiminished action. There is no rest to the bosom of the weary old world. Tossings to and fro, change without relief, war, pestilence and starvation are dissolving the ties of kindred and country, and other hundreds of thousands are about to precipitate themselves upon our shores. . . .
>
> In this view of the enlarging sphere of American activity, may we not find some consoling explanation of the design of Providence in sending so many foreigners to our shores? As physical barriers are now so generally removed, and the

whole world is coming into a condition of preparedness for receiving a Christian civilization, is it not probable that a race will be raised up for this world mission whose character shall contain those selected elements which are most needful to make a complete missionary people? Let there be a mixture of the peculiarities of different races. . . . But where could such a union take place? . . . There is nowhere a common receptacle into which they can be poured, but the broad expanse of our own Mississippi Valley. . . . The enterprise of evangelizing this land becomes, in effect, and on a grand scale, a mission to all mankind.

Again, manifest destiny! And a more prophetic word than he who spoke it could have foreseen.

In the second half of the century other situations developed to add to the complexity of the mission problem. The Mormon dominance of Utah and adjacent territory began to arouse the apprehension of the church soon after 1850, presenting a problem against which even now little headway has been made. The southern mountain area, settled chiefly with Anglo-Saxon stock, very early became isolated from the general course of progress and when rediscovered by the church near the end of the century was found to present a condition of retardation which called for heroic measures. The Civil War laid upon the church a tremendous responsibility for the education of the newly emancipated slaves, and what had been before that time only a secondary interest became almost overnight a major concern.

After the addition to the United States of the southwest territory, attention was drawn to the

Spanish-speaking residents of the isolated mountain plazas of New Mexico and Colorado and to the primitive Indian tribes of New Mexico and Arizona—Pima, Hopi, Apache, Navajo, Zuni and others. Mission work for the native races of Alaska was initiated ten years after the acquisition of that territory. Work was begun in Puerto Rico and Cuba almost immediately after the close of the Spanish-American War.

Thus it is apparent that each decade confronted the home missions forces of the church with a task that not only was greater than the last in geographical extent and in the numbers of people with whom it must deal, but was vastly more complex and was continually beset with newly occasioned or old continuing difficulties of race or occupation or social environment.

MISSIONARY INTERESTS AND METHODS

Against this background may be traced the course of missionary development. Through most of the nineteenth century home missions had three dominant interests:

The first was the evangelization of those who had uprooted themselves from the older settled communities and penetrated into the newly opened areas, and had thus taken themselves out of reach of the already established churches.

The second was the effort to win to evangelical Christianity and to a Christian conception of civil-

ized living the non-Christian or non-evangelical peoples with whom, at various times, the church came into contact; earliest of all, the Indians, and later, the Mormons, Orientals, Mexicans, European immigrants, Jews.

The third was the task of securely establishing and nurturing the church in each newly settled area.

These three tasks involved two major problems. One was the development of the necessary organizational machinery. This was wrought out slowly and tentatively, with many changes as dictated by the exigencies of the task or by the developing forms of denominational organization. Many devices had to be tried out to win the interest and support of the churches for the missionary enterprise. Remember that these were churches with a comparatively brief history and with as yet few well-established traditions. Missionary education, and indeed, religious education in any form, was not, until the century was well advanced, generally accepted or securely established in the life of the church. The other problem, scarcely anticipated at first, became increasingly insistent as the decades passed. We have said that there were older sections which early found themselves depleted in population and resources by the westward movement. As a result, home missions, at first regarded solely as an agency for the support of missionaries and then later given responsibility for the aid of established churches as a temporary measure, found itself confronting the need of sus-

taining through long periods the churches in these older, retarded communities. As this need took definite form it came, in the interest of the supporting churches, to be contrasted with and in a measure to compete with the need to extend the church into new territory. This conflict between the old and the new was to have great influence in the later development of home missions, though it was long before its permanent significance began to be understood.

These, then, were the controlling interests. They involved, of course, many collateral concerns. The interest in education was at first largely occasioned by the need of facilities for the training of church leaders. On the one hand it stimulated the development of a permanent educational system, while on the other hand it established the mission school as a permanent feature of the missionary program. Other types of service enterprises were undertaken because the evangelization of primitive groups required some means of training them in habits of industry and health and of helping them to achieve a higher type of community life.

It will be seen that the development of the home mission program, though proceeding from certain settled convictions, was in form necessarily and naturally opportunist. Controlled by the uncharted course of national development, its own conceptions of policy and method were not to be conceived in theory but evolved out of hard experience. Its first device was the itinerant missionary, usually a pastor

temporarily released from his parish duties, ranging over a large territory. Next came the settled missionary, permanently domiciled on the mission field, itinerating through a somewhat more restricted field, preaching and establishing churches. Then came the pastor, riding a circuit of established points, or in rarer instances serving a single community. Beside the church was planted the academy, perhaps in time to become a public school or, in some instances, a denominational college; but in either instance destined ultimately to pass out of missionary responsibility. Among the more exceptional groups, the school served a different, usually a more elementary and local, purpose. Commonly thought of as a temporary device, it developed in some instances into a permanent missionary institution. Agricultural or industrial or medical work was undertaken here and there. It was generally thought of as a necessary but regrettable diversion of energy from the primary evangelistic task, but for all that it slowly won a permanent place in missionary policy under exceptional conditions.

These various devices did not represent strictly chronological stages. The older forms continued to develop alongside the newer, modified to meet changed conditions. Thus in the Sunday school missionary or "missionary at large" we have the modern counterpart of the early itinerant. The pastor who receives outside aid for his work in an established church continues to be the most characteristic repre-

sentative of the missionary enterprise. The school, the hospital and many forms of community service still feature the work in retarded or undeveloped areas.

In the course of this process, before the close of the century ended that era of expansion, we can see significant tendencies of permanent import working themselves out.

First and most obvious was the tendency away from the emphasis on mere extension of work and toward an accepted responsibility for its permanent maintenance and nurture, with an increasing concern for the quality of program and service.

Second, with respect to the service ministry there was a marked trend (to use Dr. H. Paul Douglass' phrase) from "social by-product to social aim." The earlier church did not use the term "social service," but it accepted the fact as a temporary expedient to be tolerated when necessity required. In time the church came to see that the conflict which some imagined to exist between Christian social service and evangelization was, in reality, no conflict at all but merely a contrast between two different aspects of the same missionary purpose, motivated by the same spirit.

Third, there was a movement, very slow at first but ultimately gathering more headway, away from conceiving home missions merely as an instrument of denominational expansion and toward the con-

ception of it as an unselfish contribution to religious development and social reconstruction. The growth of these several tendencies marked home missions' "coming of age."

APPROACHING MATURITY

We have used the phrase "coming of age" not to intimate that the dawn of the twentieth century marked the end of growth and change and experimentation. Far from it. But it marked the end of the era when mere physical expansion was a major consideration, and the beginning of a period when more mature and settled forms were to be attained and when intensive cultivation was to take the place of extensive sowing. The characteristics of youth do not pass all at once when it attains its majority, but gradually blend into the attributes of maturity. And so it was with home missions. Just as it was the character of national development that determined the course of home missions to this point, so it was the newly developing forces in the life of the nation that now operated to turn the missionary stream into its modern channels. This story has been written too often to require repetition here save in barest outline and only with intent to mention those factors which most directly influenced home missions. These, for convenience, we may, without further comment at this point, summarize as follows:

1. Growth of Cities

The American city continued to grow at an accelerated rate and to have an increasingly dominant position in American life. This growth, accompanied by significant changes in the internal structure of the average city, was soon to confront almost every city church with the problems of a changing environment and was also to create a pressing problem of church extension in an unprecedented form. The peculiar characteristic of this problem, especially in the larger metropolitan areas, was that it necessarily implicated all the religious forces of the greater city in a program of religious ministry for an entire population. Out of it grew a new form of missionary organization and strategy adapted to the inclusive nature of the task which it involved.

2. Changing Trends in Immigration

Industrial demands largely accounted for the change in the character of immigration and for its substantial concentration in cities and industrial areas. Of special significance to home missions was the fact that the trends in the later immigration marked a shift from racial stocks closely akin to the original racial origins of the country to stocks largely alien in culture, and from predominantly Protestant to predominantly Roman Catholic or Eastern Orthodox traditions. There was also a great increase in the number who were of the Jewish faith. This movement was soon to confront home missions

with an insistent new form of evangelistic challenge and a pressing problem of parish readjustment.

3. Development of the Labor Movement

Closely in the wake of industrial expansion came a growth of the organized labor movement. The danger that the Protestant churches might be so dominated by a "vested interests complex" as to lose touch and influence with organized labor was recognized by some as a possibility serious in equal degree to the church, to labor and to the country.

4. Depletion of Rural Communities

Closely related to the growth of cities was the relative decline of many rural areas, which surrendered to the cities much of their best young life. In the stagnation that began to afflict so many country churches we see most sharply outlined the transition from the old problem of the geographical extension of the church. Thousands of rural communities, with a static or declining population, found themselves with more churches than they needed or could adequately support.

5. Improvement in Communication

The development of modern facilities of transportation and communication is perhaps, from the point of view of our present interest, the most striking and far-reaching characteristic of the modern era. It has made the modern city possible while it

has changed utterly the social problem of the small community. It has largely set people free from their old space limitations while it has given a wholly new form to the problem of social control. Its effect upon the mobility of our population has been of special significance to home missions.

6. Progress in Education and Related Fields

Special interest attaches to the vast progress that has been made in the fields of education, public health, recreation and amusement facilities and many related matters affecting the standard of living.

These were general developments the significance of which began to be apprehended and to have their effect upon home mission policy and program in the first decade of the century. Later other factors were to be added to these. The World War caused the virtual stoppage of European immigration, which some years afterward was permanently restricted by legislation. On the other hand, the war brought about a tremendous increase in Mexican immigration and its dispersion through the Southwest and Middle West, and also a portentous movement of Negroes from the South to the cities from Chicago eastward. On the Pacific coast an anti-Oriental movement rapidly gathered force, and the Japanese and Chinese, particularly, were the subjects of discriminatory legislation which made more difficult the task of winning them to Christianity.

Here are mentioned only a few things out of many that might be noted. We do not comment at all upon those general changes in the modern mind and spirit which have been analyzed so fully in the recent works of a host of writers on the social and religious trends of our day.

THE FRONTIER REMAINS

In this brief review of what has happened during home missions' coming of age it should be clear that, while we have many times outgrown particular frontiers, the frontier remains. It should be clear, also, that the frontier has never been exclusively a geographical concept. There have been frontiers physical and frontiers spiritual, often one overlaying the other. But the general direction of the change has been from the dominance of the one to the dominance of the other. The physical frontier has receded; the spiritual frontier has advanced. Physical isolation is being banished. Spiritual isolation is increasing. The physical barriers that once seemed almost insurmountable handicaps to progress, our inventive ingenuity has largely overcome. The spiritual barriers that retard the development of a national spiritual unity rooted in a vital Christian faith are, if anything, more formidable today than ever before. The early missionary paid for his service in physical courage and hardihood far beyond anything the present demands. But distances which are to be measured in statute miles, however fraught

with danger, are not more difficult to traverse than are those which lie wholly in the spiritual realm. Something of the old task remains with us yet. But consider the change!

When the church moved forward on the tide of national development there was created in it an inescapable conviction of the necessity for its own extension. In a measure, as the physical problem has receded and the spiritual problem emerged, the church seems to have lost something of that sense of imperative need. The appeal is not so simple, so dramatic, so compelling. It has no outward symbol that seems as romantic as the covered wagon. But can we fail to regard as missionary those problems that are describable in terms of the dislocation of normal spiritual values, of the redirection of familiar life currents, and of the clash of conflicting ideals and standards? Is home missions concerned in the weakening of institutions and customs and traditional loyalties, in the destruction of the old simplicity of life, the blurring of its contrasts and the confusing of its motives, or in the rise of a materialistic philosophy, which challenges the whole Christian conception of life? Does the continued existence of poverty and misery and sin demand anything of the church? If so, then we shall see that the frontier is yet unvanquished and that the home missions enterprise is today as necessary and its opportunity as great as ever in its history.

In what ways has home missions been modified or

redirected since 1900? Of first significance would seem to be the growing consciousness of the need of interdenominational cooperation and planning and the increasing facilities for joint action. Of lasting value, also, has been the development by the boards of specialized programs adapted to these newly developing situations, as illustrated, for example, by the special departments organized for city, rural or immigrant work and by the plans devised for the better training of workers and for the improvement of technical standards of work. In more than one denomination effort has been made to simplify the missionary machinery and unify the program through the reorganization or consolidation of agencies, an evidence of a broader, more inclusive conception of the missionary task.

In the years following the war the whole enterprise of home missions was greatly enlarged as vastly augmented resources became available for its support. The years of depression brought retrenchment at every point and endangered most of the newfound gains, while bringing into clearer perspective the fundamental elements of the task.

We have traced then, in barest outline, the development of home missions and of its coming of age,—an arduous, painful process, as is the coming of age of most individuals. But it has in it the promise of the fruitfulness of maturity, not as romantic as youth, but doubtless more productive of enduring worth.

IV

HOME MISSIONS TAKES STOCK OF THE PRESENT

TO THIS point we have been tracing the growth of a movement having for its general object the evangelization of America. In its history it has been called by various names, has been prosecuted by many different agencies, some long since dissolved or turned to other purposes, has employed many sorts of means. Tens of thousands of workers and hundreds of millions of dollars have been devoted to the advancement of its objects. Turning now from this record of the past, we would inquire what, in projects, in personnel and in support, is comprehended within the enterprise of Protestant home missions today. At once we confront the difficulty of defining with exactness the limits of our inquiry.

A description of home missions today may be approached from any one of three different points of view. First, it may be confined to the work conducted by the national home mission agencies (called by that or some similar title) of the Protestant denominations. Second, it may be broadened to include any other work conducted by the Protestant churches that may properly be considered home missionary

in intent and purpose, irrespective of the administering agency. Third, it may be still further broadened to include all work that is of the nature of a home missionary service, whether or not conducted by official agencies of the churches.

Each of these approaches would have certain obvious advantages and, equally, obvious disadvantages. Naturally, the simplest, most explicit definition of home missions would follow the first approach. The work so comprehended might be described as to its extent, objectives and character and as to the conceptions of need that underlie it. This would have the advantage of clarity within fixed and measurable limits. Such a procedure would, however, ignore important differences among denominations in their definition of the home mission task and in the allocation of responsibility to many agencies, local and national, for the various phases of it. It would involve many inconsistencies and would be glaringly incomplete.

Variations in denominational procedure in the conduct of home missions are intimately related to differences in ecclesiastical polity, particularly as to the degree of centralization of authority and of the control that central church bodies have over their regional units and local congregations. This is almost as much a matter of custom and tradition as of written constitution. Denominations with similar constitutions differ greatly in the degree of centralized control actually exercised in the conduct of mission

work. Hence they differ in the proportion of their total mission program directed by their national agencies. Furthermore, some denominations give to the term "home missions" a much narrower connotation than others and assign to other than home mission agencies aspects of the task or portions of the area which we are here assuming lie within the province of home missions. It follows that a more complete picture of home missions is obtained if, after defining the area and interests to be included, a summary is made of all the work within that area and range of interests conducted under Protestant church auspices. This is the advantage of the second method of approach. Its principal disadvantage lies in the difficulty of securing complete and accurate information for so decentralized an enterprise.

The third approach, if it were practicable, would be highly advantageous sociologically and would have undoubted importance for missionary strategy and administration. The benevolent instincts of the American people have many channels of expression outside the official organizations of the churches. Throughout the mission field, particularly among more retarded groups, will be found programs of service comparable in every way with those of the churches but supported by non-church corporations or by groups of individuals. Some of these, indeed, operate under informal church patronage or support. Then, too, in many aspects the line between governmental or semi-public service activities and

those entirely voluntary in character is exceedingly thin and difficult to trace, and in these days is constantly being broken through. However desirable it might be to draw into one statement all that is done for the American people which we might properly think of as missionary in significance, the difficulty of assembling the information is all but insuperable. We must content ourselves with the knowledge that at many points and in many ways the missionary program of the church is supplemented by activities motivated by a fine, unselfish spirit of Christian brotherhood and service. For our present purpose, therefore, we will follow the second line of approach and, as completely as available data permit, will summarize the home mission enterprise of the Protestant denominations associated with the Home Missions Council and the Council of Women for Home Missions.

THE FIELD

Geographically, the operating field of the home mission agencies is commonly understood to include continental United States, Alaska, the West Indies (particularly Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and the Virgin Islands), Hawaii and the Canal Zone. Canada is the particular field of interest of the church bodies of that dominion. This entire territory has, excluding Canada, a land area of 3,694,875 square miles with a total present population of about 136,000,000. In general, as the old

phrase has it, "home missions follows the flag." For convenience of administration the Philippine Islands are excluded and Cuba, Haiti and the Dominican Republic are included. This division of territory between home and foreign missions is not followed in all denominations but may be, for general purposes, accepted.

Within this total area home missions work is conducted in all types of communities and for all races and types of population. This is no level plane of uniformity. It is doubtful if any other field in the world of equal population will show a wider range of conditions and of needs. An adequate understanding of the home missions field must, therefore, go far beyond a mere computation of area and numbers. Different situations present different characteristics, which require not only different methods of approach but also some modifications in the immediate objectives of the missionary program. One situation may disclose needs vitally affecting the success of the missionary enterprise that are absent from other situations or are being otherwise met. In the main the important differences are of five sorts, which may be variously combined in any given instance:

1. *Racial differences,* involving differences in language, in cultural background, and in practical outlook and, not infrequently, the presence of special handicaps and legal or other discriminations.

2. *Environmental differences,* having to do with factors affecting the mode of living, the degree of

concentration or dispersion, of congestion or isolation, and the physical obstacles to social and economic progress, to accessibility and to free social and intellectual intercourse.

3. *Occupational differences,* involving the practical routines or modes of living that certain occupations impose upon those who follow them, the varying degrees of transiency or permanence, and the arbitrary social distinctions or points of view that in many cases result from them.

4. *Religious differences,* involving, on the one hand, the contrasts or conflicts between evangelical Christianity and other religious faiths to whose active or nominal adherents home missions seeks to minister, and, on the other hand, the degree to which religion, any religion, has gained a foothold for itself.

5. *Differences in economic or social capacity,* not only to maintain the institutions of religion, but also to support the necessary elements of a reasonable standard of living and to provide the quality of leadership essential to individual and community development.

Distinctions of these various sorts have had much to do with the shaping of the home missions enterprise to its present form. Doubtless from the point of view of the primary religious purpose of home missions, the significance of these differences has sometimes been exaggerated or promotional considerations have been allowed to keep alive distinc-

tions that have ceased to have great practical validity. Nevertheless, experience still warrants the general recognition by home missions of these variable aspects of its problem.

THE SCOPE OF HOME MISSIONS

It is much more difficult to define exactly the scope of home missions than to determine its geographical field. We have spoken of its primary and controlling religious purpose. This would not, in itself, distinguish home missions from other aspects of church work. It does not altogether solve the difficulty to say that a religious task becomes missionary when the prosecution of it requires support and direction from outside the particular community concerned. Nor can we be altogether content to describe as missionary that which takes the church outside itself in the spirit of unselfish service. Missions cannot claim a monopoly of the unselfish spirit. Broadly, we think of the missionary enterprise as the response of the church to the need of the world for Christian faith, Christian ministry and Christian leadership. That may explain it, but it scarcely describes it.

This difficulty of definition derives in large part from the fact that, in actual operation, the fundamental religious purpose of the church in its missionary business comes into collision with all sorts of practical difficulties, growing out of such differences as those to which reference has just been

made. The factors that condition the problem of Christian living, or that control the response to a spiritual appeal, vary greatly in different elements of the population. Moreover, such factors as are more or less common are being constantly modified, but at different rates and in different degrees for the various distinctive sections and groups. It is not, therefore, possible for home missions to have a uniform or completely standardized program. The comfort and convenience of being always able to say that home missions means thus and so must be forgone in any realistic facing of facts. The plaintive query, "Can't home missions be described in simple, easily understandable terms?" is destined always for a negative answer—unless the inequalities and differences in the life of the nation and the life of the church are, in some good time, reduced to uniformity. If home missions was less complex, it would be less true to the genius of the church and to the purpose of Christianity and far less effective in the advancement of its particular objectives.

Every stage in the history of home missions illustrates the natural and, for the most part, unplanned process by which its recognized range of responsibility has been constantly enlarged. To be sure, the same breadth of view has not characterized all mission agencies or all missionaries at all times or in all places. But, by and large, the program of home missions has comprehended an increasingly wide variety

of interests and activities, most of which have continued to be a part of its concern.

Home Missions Today and Tomorrow[1] outlines the objectives of home missions substantially as follows:

First, to extend Christianity by establishing and sustaining churches wherever an actual or prospective constituency is available but local resources are inadequate to their support.

Second, to make available an evangelical Christian ministry throughout the home mission field for all people irrespective of race, language, color, occupation, and social or economic status.

Third, to include within the scope of an adequate evangelical Christian ministry:

evangelism—or a summons to a personal allegiance to Jesus Christ;

organization—or the uniting of Christians in religious bodies for worship, fellowship and Christian activities;

religious education—to familiarize them with the Scriptures and with the history and doctrine of the Christian church; and to assist their development in the practice of Christian discipleship;

service—in all cases of retardation or of social maladjustment, to assist through specialized institutions and programs in meeting the educational, health, social and other needs.

Fourth, to develop the native capacities for leadership in each racial group and in each distinctive missionary area, as a natural and necessary step in religious growth.

Fifth, to assist each local church or other institution to develop a well-rounded ministry which will adequately meet the needs of its community and increasingly contribute to the

[1] P. 9.

advancement of the nationwide and world-wide program of the church.

Sixth, to serve the whole church as a pioneering and experimenting agency, enabling the church to project itself beyond its established routine, in area, constituency, program, method, or spiritual emphasis.

Seventh, to cooperate with other agencies of the church in exploring the applications of Christianity to the problems of daily living, and in summoning Christian people to a sincere effort to make every aspect of our collective life a genuine reflection of Christian principle and spirit.

Eighth, to furnish for the entire church a specialized, technical service and leadership with reference to church equipment, program, organization and operation, and to promote satisfactory relationships among the churches and between the churches and other related agencies.

THE WORK OF HOME MISSIONS

Home missions, growing steadily from its small and unpretentious beginnings, has become an undertaking of considerable magnitude. During one recent year its prosecution involved a total expenditure of $27,500,000. It used the services of over twenty-two thousand workers, conducting nearly thirty thousand separate missionary projects. Its personnel included ministers, teachers, doctors, nurses, community workers, Sunday school missionaries, directors of religious education, colporteurs, evangelists and workers of many other sorts. The enterprises which it maintained included churches, mission Sunday schools, community centers, hospitals and other medical service stations, schools ranging from kindergarten

to university and theological seminary, orphanages and homes, rescue missions and many other types of missionary activities.[1]

The following table classifies by type of work the total number of mission enterprises and workers:

	Number of Enterprises	*Number of Personnel*
Churches	18,128	14,009
Schools (all types and grades)	440	2,765
Community work centers	533	1,240
Medical work centers	95	393
Mission Sunday schools	9,923	303
All other local programs	534	2,234
Field service and supervision		662
Administration and promotion		446
Total	29,653	22,052

Such figures illustrate better the size of the home missions enterprise than the variety of its forms. The classifications used are convenient, but they hardly suggest the many types of local activities and general services that are included. This diversification of pattern may be more fully indicated if these activities and services are classified according to the method of approach to the field:

[1] See *Home Missions Today and Tomorrow*, Sec. III, pp. 12 ff. In general the figures given here cover the last completed fiscal year prior to January, 1933, for each agency included. With a few exceptions it may be said that the expenditures reported are considerably below the level of previous years but are also substantially above the level existing as this book is written. The effect of the depression has been seriously to curtail the resources of all missionary agencies.

1. Of primary importance is the direct religious ministry to communities or local groups. The principal agencies in such ministry are:

the organized church, supported in part or in whole from mission funds, with its collateral organizations and services;
the unorganized preaching station, usually an outreach from some organized church;
the mission Sunday school, maintained where circumstances do not permit the establishment of a church or the conduct of other forms of regular ministry.

The organized church is not only the most widespread and characteristic home missions activity; it is also a logical goal of all home missions activity. Its form and character are modified to meet the needs of many kinds of situations. In organization it varies from the simple structure adapted to an isolated rural neighborhood to the elaborate institutional type suited to some complex urban community. It may be designed for the exclusive service of any one of the many distinctive racial or language groups with which home missions has contact, or it may be polyglot and cosmopolitan in character. It may operate as a detached and separate unit, or it may be combined with other aided or self-supporting churches in various types of circuits or larger parishes. Similarly, its interests may be confined to a single neighborhood or group, or it may be the center of a widely radiating influence and service. It may operate with only a portion of the time of a

minister, or it may be provided with a staff of full-time specialized workers chosen according to the needs of its program.

2. A localized ministry requires to be supplemented with many special forms of religious extension, for the service of individuals under exceptional conditions and for the development of various specialized activities. The most frequent and significant lines of home missions work, in this connection, are:

itinerant evangelism, through colporteurs, chapel car missionaries, and others with a "roving commission";

religious service in public institutions, such as hospitals, prisons, homes for children or for the aged, industrial camps, rescue missions;

programs of religious education extension for the promotion of mission Sunday schools, vacation Bible schools, religious instruction in public schools, young people's conferences, leadership training groups;

general evangelism in cooperation with local churches.

Such general ministries, in the very nature of the case, are almost infinitely varied. Being in the form, largely, of personal services, they follow a more flexible program than is usually found in the more formal institutional activities of the church. To some extent such services are a part-time activity of pastors or other local workers. For their more specialized aspects, however, there are specially qualified, full-time missionaries.

3. In a third group may be assembled all the other institutional aspects of home missions service. These operate in fields of interest which home mis-

sions shares with many public, semi-public and private agencies. They represent the expression of the religious and missionary impulse in a practical ministry to everyday need. The forms of activity principally included are:

the neighborhood house or community center;
schools, both day and boarding, including day nurseries, kindergartens, elementary schools, junior and senior high schools, junior and senior colleges, universities, normal colleges, theological seminaries, mission training schools, nurses' training schools, ungraded opportunity schools;
medical and health service programs, with hospitals, dispensaries, clinics, extension nursing service, public health education;
orphanages and homes for the aged;
hostels or boarding homes for persons attending public schools or other educational institutions;
industrial or agricultural projects.

Particular institutions may combine the characteristics of several of the foregoing lines of activity. The neighborhood house or community center usually includes educational and health service features in its program. The mission school is often a center for programs of community service and frequently includes health education and industrial or other vocational training in its curriculum. All the types of institutions mentioned vary greatly in size and in the number of staff workers employed. Some are highly conventionalized in form, others are quite flexible and unregimented. In practically all cases the

program of work includes definite religious instruction and evangelistic activity.

4. In a final group may be included the various lines of general field service which home missions agencies perform for the church at large. Among these are:

the development of specialized programs of church organization and work adapted to urban, industrial or rural conditions and to the service of particular racial or other groups;
assistance in the provision of suitable church equipment, through grants or loans of money and through architectural and financial service bureaus;
research and field survey;
provision of leadership in such special fields as evangelism, social and industrial relations, race relations;
leadership training and general personnel service;
missionary education.

Such a list might be considerably extended, but services of the kind indicated are the most usual. There are, in addition, the definite responsibilities that mission agencies carry in the administration and supervision of mission work on the field and in the promotion of the entire program throughout the church.

WHERE HOME MISSIONS MONEY IS EXPENDED

If all the local activities and contacts of home missions were spotted on a map in such a way as to show just where work of each of the kinds referred to is conducted, it would reveal both the very wide dis-

tribution of the total enterprise and marked differences in the distribution of particular aspects of the program. If such a map could show, also, the relation of home missions work to the total work of the Protestant churches, it would reveal very striking variations. A brief synopsis of the story which this map would tell might be sketched somewhat as follows:

Organized mission churches are scattered throughout the whole field. In the East and Middle West they are a smaller proportion of the total number of churches than elsewhere. Within continental United States there is a relative concentration of Spanish-speaking churches in the Southwest, of Oriental churches on the Pacific coast, of German and Scandinavian churches in Pennsylvania and in the north-central states, of other foreign-language churches in the industrial areas of the East and Middle West, of Negro churches in the South and in the larger industrial cities, and of Indian churches in the southwest, north-central and northwest states. The unorganized preaching stations and the mission Sunday schools are predominantly in the South and West, which is also the case with the various ministries of itinerant evangelism.

Neighborhood houses and community centers are largely developed in industrial centers of the East and Middle West, where also will be found rescue missions, orphanages and homes for the aged, and programs of religious service in public institutions.

Enterprises of a similar type are numerous in the distinctive missionary fields of the South and West and in Alaska and the West Indies, where, also, are largely concentrated the mission schools, hostels and medical and health centers.

The general field services of home missions are available for the entire area.

When all types of localized activities are taken into account, the distribution of home missions expenditures in relation to population shows that, while a substantial amount is expended within each state or other territorial unit, the relative amount expended varies greatly. As regards continental United States the most striking fact is the degree of concentration, both relative and absolute, in the southern and western states. In relation to population, the expenditure in the western states for home missions is more than three times that in the eastern states and nearly three times that in the Middle West. Similarly, the expenditure in the South is more than double that in the East and nearly double that in the Middle West. The controlling factors here are relative wealth and the nature of population growth and distribution. In the East and Middle West, where there is the greatest concentration of wealth, a smaller proportion of the total population is dependent for religious service upon missionary activity. Much of the missionary expenditure within these regions is occasioned by the growth of cities and their suburbs and by the concentration of

foreign-speaking populations; but even here there are many static or declining rural communities that require aid. The West and South have more pressing and widespread missionary need in proportion to their resources. The southern region includes the Appalachian, Cumberland and Ozark mountain areas, a large proportion of the Negroes and a relatively retarded and needy population, including tenant farmers, textile mill employees and soft coal miners, in many thousand small communities. The western region has not only large areas that are sparsely populated, but here also are found the bulk of our Indian, Spanish-speaking and Oriental population. The industries and occupations that make the largest use of migrant labor, such as the lumber and oil industries and certain phases of agriculture, are especially developed in the West. Here, too, is the area dominated by the Mormon faith. In many parts of the West the church is very insecurely established, a condition that throws a correspondingly heavier burden upon the home mission forces.

For the various home mission areas outside of continental United States there are also wide variations in expenditures relative to population. The controlling consideration here is neither one of local resources, which are in all cases inadequate, nor of the degree of missionary need, which is about equally great in each instance. The significant question is how completely the total population is touched by the program as now carried on. Alaska, for example,

with a comparatively small population is more completely occupied by the missionary forces than is any one of the West Indian countries. This fact, together with the excessive cost of maintaining work in much of Alaska because of transportation difficulties, is responsible for the relatively very high expenditure there. Of the other larger areas served Puerto Rico is perhaps the best occupied. The most inadequately occupied are doubtless Haiti and the Dominican Republic, where the very small per capita expenditures reflect the serious inadequacy of the programs now carried on.

A similar calculation of expenditures in relation to the population of the major racial groups served within the bounds of the United States shows startlingly wide variations. The lowest average missionary expenditure is among the "foreign white stock" as a whole; the highest is among the Indians. The differences are, in part, traditional, certain groups having been much more actively served than others, while some groups are even yet largely untouched by Protestant home missions. In part, however, they mark the varying degrees to which these racial groups have succeeded in developing their own indigenous and self-supporting church life.

THE BROADER DEFINITION

What has been said in this chapter of the work of home missions today has the limitations, as well as the advantages, of the method of approach that

was chosen. The picture drawn is of the enterprise of home missions as conducted by Protestant home missions agencies. It is far from being a picture of all that the benevolent forces of America are undertaking for the well-being of our people. That picture has never been drawn. Perhaps the most satisfactory recent attempt to draw it was in the report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, appointed by former President Hoover, and that report only hinted at the stupendous programs of relief and constructive public welfare developed to meet existing emergencies.

Such a picture, if it could be drawn, would also depict the activities of many permanent federal agencies, for the improvement of agriculture and rural life, for the administration of Indian affairs, the development of education, and the advancement of public health, of child welfare and of community development. Behind these would be disclosed projects dealing with almost every aspect of long-range national planning. Then there would need to be included the multitudinous activities in these and related fields of state, city, county and township governments. These are continually relieving home missions of some of its collateral responsibilities.

Leaving the field of public agencies, one would necessarily turn to the great foundations and other private corporations, with their extensive operations in the realms of education, health, and almost every phase of human welfare. These again must be sup-

plemented by the great number of independent missionary enterprises that are found throughout the home missions area.

This much is said to emphasize again the distinction between the missionary enterprise that we are discussing and the whole range of humanitarian efforts. There is no need to confuse the issue. Religious ministry is the church's own responsibility and there it has no real competition. This is the heart of home missions. In all its other services, however meritorious, what it does represents but a fraction of all that is done. The fraction is significant but it is only a fraction. Ultimately, home missions stands or falls by the vitality and power of its spiritual mission.

THE PERTINENT QUESTION

We have now reached the question whether, under existing conditions in America, we can justify to reasonable minds, sympathetic to the missionary motive, a continuing enterprise of home missions. We are not now asking if such an enterprise should continue with precisely its present form or method, but whether, in view of the course of national development and the development of the Christian church and in the light of our continuing Christian ideals and hopes, it needs to continue at all. The circumstances and problems of the present are not those of the past. The home missions field today differs in

almost every essential particular from that field a century or even a generation ago.

Because of this inescapable fact of change, home missions cannot be described in identically the same terms or justified on precisely the same grounds as in earlier days. But the equally inescapable fact that today builds upon the foundations of yesterday raises for us certain presumptions of continuing values which we shall not hastily cast into the discard. Here is the balance to be struck, with candor and courage. This, then, is the pertinent question: "Admitting the changes that have taken place, when we confront the conditions of our own day—the inequalities in material resources, in culture and opportunity for advancement, and in religious privilege and spiritual outlook, the richly variegated pattern of our population, the confused medley of ideals and standards —how should Christian motive impel us to proceed?"

THE OLD GIVES PLACE

Such terms as "frontier" and "pioneering," used to describe present-day needs, can be given no such literal meaning as when applied to the exploits of Marcus Whitman and Jason Lee. But even used figuratively, can we say that what they connote has as much reality today as a hundred years ago? The Standard Dictionary gives as one of the definitions of a frontier, "That portion of a country between a civilized and an uncivilized region; the confines of

civilization"; and of a pioneer, "One who goes before to remove obstacles and prepare the way for others." Are there in America today barriers confining the free course of that ideal of Christian civilization to which home missions has always given expression? Are there still needed those who as representatives of the church will "go before to remove obstacles and prepare the way for others"?

The one factor that has most noticeably disappeared as a dominant and overshadowing concern of present-day home missions is the problem of following the streams of settlers into newly opened territory and of establishing the church on wholly new ground. That was, above all other considerations, the great missionary problem of the nineteenth century. It is not the problem of the twentieth. Does this mean, then, that home missions no longer has a task in relation to the local church? In general it will be conceded that the establishment of new churches is now only an incidental aspect of home missions. This is not to say that there are not anywhere communities without churches where they should be established, but that this is no longer the primary problem. The home missions field has never been fully occupied by the church, notwithstanding the popular impression to the contrary. Moreover, new communities will continue to be created as long as the American population continues in flux. The need for new churches, therefore, has not wholly passed. The church must continue to

be on the alert to meet new situations. The question is one of relative emphasis.

A diminishing responsibility for new churches has been offset by an increasing responsibility in relation to old ones. For one thing, there are, in all parts of the country, very large numbers of people with whom no existing church has vital contact. Both physical and spiritual isolation operate in many ways to keep open the gulf between the church and many whom it should serve. This calls for a program of church extension quite different from that which an earlier day required, a program that emphasizes the systematic extension of the area of ministry and of the sense of responsibility of existing churches, supplemented at need by programs of itinerant evangelism and community service. It therefore has become increasingly important for home missions to sustain and develop in effectiveness the churches already in existence, or such, at least, as are needful to the work of the kingdom. With populations changing, in number and composition, with most communities undergoing more or less constant modifications in character, and with modern influences of many sorts bearing down upon the work of the church, there are very few churches that have not faced significant changes in parish conditions demanding equally significant changes in program. This naturally confronts home missions with a new problem in relation to the local church.

The traditional theory of the home missions sup-

port of churches was one of aid for a limited term only. As stated by one church assembly nearly a hundred years ago, "The funds supplied are funds for temporary assistance, and not for entire, nor permanent support. . . . The grand end and aim . . . is to establish self-sustaining churches and fields, as fast and as far as possible, and so to increase the solid material and power of the church, and accumulate strength to go forward expanding." This actually describes the historic relation of home missions to many thousands of churches and usually involved no more than the tender of financial aid. But the successful working of such a theory depended upon an assurance of growth and permanence which failed to materialize in very many instances. The resultant need to sustain churches, perhaps for long periods, brought to light the equal importance of assistance to improve the quality of their service. Home missions is, therefore, no longer concerned merely to establish or maintain a church. Its purpose is to make possible the development of high standards of service suited to the needs of today. This is coming to be the dominant interest of home missions in its relation to individual congregations. Obviously, this involves considerations of long-range planning, of concern for questions of community welfare and spiritual unity, and of interdenominational comity and cooperation.

This brief summary of the changing relationship of home missions to the church has been given to

illustrate how a major interest continues but is altered in emphasis and method. The succeeding chapters will deal more fully with the program as now conducted. Other aspects of the work of home missions have undergone similar transformations which, also, will be later considered in detail.

UNDERLYING PROBLEMS

The most comprehensive conception of home missions is that which regards it as a means of equalizing religious privilege, interpreted as including everything essential to Christian fulness of life. This views the home missions problem as essentially compounded of inequality, complexity and change. America is not static; its structure is not simple; it does not offer to all an actual equality of opportunity. Different regions and different racial groups differ markedly in their distinctive characteristics and problems, which must be taken into account in home missions work. But all are more or less affected by certain general changes taking place through the home missions field as a whole.

Of primary importance is the change in the distribution and composition of our population. The rate of population growth is slowing up. The city and town are increasingly dominant, the open country is relatively declining. Immigration has practically ceased. The "second generation" is the focal point in racial adjustment. Racial groups are being more widely distributed and are gradually merging

their special cultures into a new composite culture. In this process the older traditions and points of view of all elements of the population are being profoundly modified. Under the impetus of modern inventiveness, the tempo and the whole mechanism of living have been changed, and are still changing, hardly less, relatively, in the country than in the city. Progress both in material and in spiritual things has been uneven. Retardation—economic, social, educational—still characterizes millions of people. Social conflict in many forms is present in our national life, in race, industry, even in culture and religion. Unrest and impermanence are everywhere apparent.

What this really signifies is that there are certain underlying problems, familiar to all who know America well, which create a presumption of a continuing missionary need. These problems are not new. The years of depression have not created them, but have accentuated and made inescapably apparent the existence of conditions which, in more halcyon days, many were prone to ignore. They are all more or less interrelated, but five in particular should be underscored in our thinking:

First is the *problem of retardation.* For millions of people, even in our prosperous years when such emphasis was placed on our material and social advance, progress was only an illusion; for them the most obvious elements of our vaunted American standard of living were mere phantoms. Both indus-

try and agriculture have been so conducted as to give to many engaged in them no more than a bare subsistence. We speak of the need of "security" for the victims of the present tragic era. But there are many who have never been "secure" in anything but their poverty. The pioneer philosophy did not contemplate permanent retardation. It was hard on the laggards. The area of the southern mountains has been the most publicized as illustrating the plight of a large population who have fallen behind in the march of progress. But there are other areas and groups, the share croppers of the South, for example, who illustrate it quite as well and with perhaps fewer compensations. It is a plain fact that very many have never had the resources to achieve what would be regarded as the minimum requirements of housing, health, education and general social well-being. It is equally clear that very many lack the resources to provide on any reasonable basis the essentials of an adequate religious program. Any index that may be used to measure economic capacity will reveal startlingly wide variations between regions, and within regions between particular communities or groups.

A second problem, somewhat related to the first but distinct from it, is the *problem of discrimination.* If progress is an illusion for many, equality of opportunity is not less so. Millions of people are to a greater or less degree set apart by arbitrary distinctions of race or color or class, which restrict their full participation in such privileges as their com-

munities afford. Such discriminations, rooted primarily in prejudice, solidified by custom, rationalized by theories of innate racial superiorities, dramatized with the pageantry of super-patriotism and one hundred per cent Nordic Americanism—often embodied in legislation and enforced by an unholy combination of police power and mob violence—are potent factors in American life. The long history of public and private exploitation of the American Indian, for which our national policy has, in modern times, belatedly tried to make amends, the record of our treatment of Negroes and Orientals, the occasional local outbursts of feeling against one or another foreign race, are illustrations familiar to everyone. In this matter continuous, quiet restrictive pressure is even more significant than outbreaks of violence.

The third problem is of a quite different character. This we may call the *problem of migrancy*. Permanence is another historic illusion in America. The traditional program of the Protestant churches was based upon the assumption of a relatively stable population with a high degree of attachment to local institutions. Growth in numbers was, of course, always expected. A certain amount of population movement along well-charted ways, as from East to West or from country to city, was anticipated. But an underlying stability and permanence were taken for granted. They may still be taken for granted in many communities. But there are uncounted tens of thousands of people for whom

migrancy has become the normal state of living. Many of these are seasonal workers, following the round of the crops or of other sources of temporary employment. Others are to a greater or less degree vagrants, living always on the social fringe. Very many, particularly in our larger cities, while not in this sense to be classed as migrants, have, nevertheless, almost no vital sense of attachment to particular places or institutions. Impermanence and detachment characterize them. Those who are in the strictest sense migrants or vagrants are, as a whole, among the most needy and the least cared for elements of our population. They are often, in practical effect, excluded from the advantages of even the most elemental provisions of community life. They are the hardest group to serve because of the difficulty of maintaining continuous contacts. This problem of establishing and maintaining contact is, in fact, the most perplexing aspect of the task of serving all of those who, whether in city or country, are without permanent habitation or strong local attachments.

For the fourth problem we have no single word, though one aspect of it would be expressed by calling it the *problem of sectionalism*. Or we might refer to it as the problem of special interest. It concerns the overemphasis upon the rights, privileges and aspirations of a particular section or race or group as contrasted with the welfare of the whole nation. Not without iustification has an eminent historian

characterized sectionalism as "the tragedy of America." National unity is our ideal and *E Pluribus Unum* is on our money, but the reality falls far short of the ideal. In many matters of common interest one geographical area is played off against another, and indeed the principal regions differ markedly in important characteristics. City versus country, industry versus agriculture are old, deep-seated conflicts. Self-conscious racial groups often jealously strive to preserve their separate identities and secure special group advantages. Labor, business, political and even social organizations, established for entirely legitimate and praiseworthy objects, often become aggressive agents of divisive self-interest. The same may be said of many religious bodies. The result is that in the nation as a whole or in any part of it or even in almost any local community it is increasingly difficult to achieve any common point of view or any common line of action, save in the greatest of public emergencies.

The fifth problem is the *problem of social instability*. We are likely to assume, almost casually, that the institutions and ideals that have been generally characteristic of the average American community in the past are assured of permanence. It is startling to realize how the effects of continued depression have weakened the institutions of public education in far too many communities. It is equally startling to realize how many churches have been seriously impaired in vitality or have actually been

abandoned under the pressure of altered circumstances during a generation, in addition to the many that have never attained sufficient strength to maintain themselves unaided. There is occasion for serious concern, too, in the discovery of the degree to which far-reaching and fundamental changes have taken place in the point of view of the average community as regards personal and social ideals. Certainly no one can confidently assume stability for our traditionally characteristic institutions and ideals, at least in the form in which we have known them in the past. Every thoughtful student of the current scene realizes that existing agencies for religious, moral and social education are not reaching with equal effectiveness all elements of our population, are scarcely reaching some elements at all, and are, perhaps, not giving to any element a realistic and vital conception of the full implications of Christian ethics for our day.

FUNCTIONS OF HOME MISSIONS

What, then, are the functions that home missions has to perform in the life of the church today in the light of these changes and in view of these continuing, underlying problems? It is our thesis, which we shall undertake to substantiate more fully in the succeeding chapters, that an enterprise of home missions is needed today to serve the church in the discharge of four distinctive functions:

1. *To pioneer.* There are still fields unoccupied,

populations unreached, vital human needs unmet. The church needs still to be adventurous, experimental; needs the ability to catapult itself out of its ruts, to keep abreast of change, to enter upon each new field of service as it opens, to project itself into each situation that calls for an unselfish Christian ministry, to develop new programs or methods or organizations to meet any special needs that may emerge. The home missions enterprise is that pioneering force in the church today as it has always been in the past.

2. *To adjust.* For the church to remain static means to lose ground. The world changes; the church must change. Certain individual churches that were necessary yesterday are not needed today. The church needs an agency of discrimination, of selection, of adjustment; an agency that will keep its organization and program flexibly adapted to changing circumstances, that will develop the broad plans and strategies to guide its course with the minimum of waste and overlapping and the maximum of effectiveness, that will adjust the relationships among churches and between them and other agencies on high Christian principles. The home missions enterprise, with its directing boards and councils, is best fitted to serve the church as such an agency.

3. *To sustain.* While many things must change, many others should endure, in the work of the church as elsewhere. It is unthinkable that local

financial strength should be made the test of survival. Is a particular church needed in the work of the kingdom? Should a particular service be performed as a part of a Christian ministry? If so, the church as a whole should sustain them on an assured and adequate basis and should develop what it does sustain to a satisfactory degree of practical effectiveness and spiritual power. It is through home missions that the church is enabled to accomplish this equalization of resources and mobilization of directing leadership.

4. *To interpret.* Implicit in the whole missionary enterprise is the conviction that the Christian ideal of sharing is the heart of our gospel. It is likewise the animating principle of collective Christian living. For its own sake, if for no other reason, the church needs to keep open the channels through which that ideal may find expression. This the mission enterprise does for it. But it does much more. It brings home to the church the manifold ways in which Christian principles should be applied to the vital problems of collective life. Thus it helps to keep the church from becoming self-centered and ingrowing, helps to interpret the needs of the times to the church, helps to interpret Christianity to the world at large.

These four functions together constitute an ample justification for a continuing enterprise of home missions in the life of the church today.

V

EVANGELIZATION—THE NEED

THE North American Home Missions Congress, held in Washington, D. C., in 1930, defined the total "home mission of the church" as "the effort, in the spirit of Christ and in fulfilment of his great commission, to win to Christian discipleship the people of North America and to Christianize the life of our nations." Its more specific definition of home missions, as distinguished from other aspects of the church's work in the home field, emphasizes the following objectives:

1. To win men and women to discipleship of Jesus Christ, to unite them with other disciples in the fellowship of the Christian church, and to educate them for worship and service at home and abroad by helping them to discover and to accept for themselves and for society at large the full consequences of Christian discipleship.

2. To make the church available to those sections of America that lack its ministry.

3. To supply adequate church leadership where the work of the present church is unsuccessful or inadequate.

This definition makes Christian discipleship, in its broader sense and in both its personal and its social

implications, the primary objective and recognizes the church as the primary means for its realization. Thus evangelization is made the moving force of the whole missionary enterprise. Such an emphasis is in accord with the facts of home missions history, and with the obvious intent of those who have carried forward its work. They have thought of themselves as fundamentally evangelists. Other activities and interests have had their place—and it has been an important place. But they have not been viewed as serving any contrasted, much less conflicting, purpose. Rather, they have been measured and valued in relation to the primary evangelistic interest. The church has been the pivot upon which the whole undertaking has turned. The school, the community station and the hospital in home missions work are distinct from the church in that each has its own contribution to make, its own technique to develop, and its own intrinsic value. It is unnecessary to exalt any one at the expense of the others. They share a common purpose and contribute to a common end. But the ultimate, all-pervasive interests of home missions center in a special way about the functions committed to the church.

Most Christian workers would agree that for the redemption of society and the establishment of the kingdom, the regeneration of the individual must come first. Subsequently, such regenerated individuals are to be united in Christian fellowship for worship and service, are to be developed in under-

standing and brought into right relations with each other and with all men. Actually these are not separate processes but aspects of one process, no part of which is complete until all is complete. The distinctions we are using are therefore largely distinctions of convenience.

WHAT REMAINS TO BE DONE

Has the task of evangelization in home missions been completed? Or, to put it differently, has that task been carried to the point where individual churches can complete it without a formal program of home missions? Doubtless everyone will agree that so long as all our churches of whatever kind, Christian and non-Christian, enroll in their total membership no more than a bare majority of the adult population, there is still a work of evangelization to be done. This seems the more evident when we reflect that the proportion in the church membership has not changed materially in thirty years, that this proportion shows wide variations among different sections of the country and different types of population, and that for many who are listed as church members such membership obviously means little more than a nominal attachment to an institution. Nevertheless, some who would assent to this general judgment would affirm that the task of home missions has been completed and that what remains to be done must be made the responsibility of the individual congregations. It may be that this opin-

ion, where held, springs from the belief that the task of evangelistic extension in home missions was in many places rather overdone.

During the era of national expansion home missions was characterized by a certain excess of optimism and zeal, born of the psychology of the frontier and nourished by the lively denominational consciousness that characterized all branches of the Christian church. It was a time when the most exaggerated claims were taken as expressing something less than the probable truth. In their overestimates of the prospects of the new territories to which at various times they laid claim, and in their competitive zeal to take possession of each new frontier in turn, the representatives of the churches erred, but probably no oftener and no more seriously than did the representatives of government or business. Granting this much, ought we to conclude that there is no longer need for a program of evangelization to be carried forward by the home mission agencies? Does the presence of too many churches in some places prove of necessity that there are too many everywhere, and that therefore the only task left home missions in relation to the church is to abandon the field? In point of fact there is ample evidence to indicate beyond reasonable doubt that there is still need to extend the church and even greater need to nurture and develop it, progressively adapting its organization and program to the changing character of the communities where it is at work.

This conclusion is not inconsistent with what is elsewhere pointed out, that the era of indefinite expansion and unlimited growth is ended in America. That cannot be said too emphatically. The rate of population growth is slowing up and rapidly approaching a point of stabilization. The birth rate is declining. There are fewer young children in our population today than there were ten years ago. The tide of immigration, which has been one of our greatest sources of population increase, has actually turned and is now flowing out. The foreign-born constitute a decreasing proportion of the total population. The definite trends are toward a stabilized and more homogeneous total. The redistribution of populations, both as regards totals and as regards particular racial groups, is still going on and is likely to continue. Metropolitan and industrial areas continue to grow. Particular sections, for reasons which may be now unforeseen, may experience rapid and substantial growth. But in much of the home missions territory we must anticipate a static or declining population. For thousands of communities and for important population groups, home missions must adjust its program to the service of not more than the present number of people.

In other words, in the future development of home missions the idea of a general and practically unlimited population growth, which throughout our history has been a controlling principle, must definitely be abandoned. This is the weightiest possible

argument in favor of a shift of policy from mere extension to adjustment and intensive cultivation. But, on the other hand, under such circumstances it now becomes possible to complete the occupancy of territory that has never been entered by the church, and in other areas, with the uncertainties of pioneer days somewhat clarified, to develop stable enterprises having a firm basis of reality and permanence. Furthermore, we can undertake with some assurance the task of adjusting the number and quality of our churches to the actual needs of the field and of coordinating the work of the church with the other forces and agencies that deal with character development and social welfare.

ARE MORE CHURCHES NEEDED?

Our immediate concern is whether the present program and equipment of the Protestant Church, if reasonably developed and maintained, is adequate as it stands to reach and serve the entire home missions field, or whether there is need for additional churches, for itinerant evangelism, for the enlargement of the range of service of existing churches, or for any other means of evangelistic extension.

Extended surveys of the Institute of Social and Religious Research in the past decade provided a basis for an estimate that there were at that time in the United States at least ten thousand rural communities or neighborhoods, with an aggregate population of around five million, that had in them

no Protestant churches.[1] This was in addition to the even larger number of communities that had church organizations in some form but in which there were no ministers resident. Until recently it was assumed that this was a diminishing problem because of the decline in open-country population and the extended efforts to remove populations from marginal lands. The effects of these trends were probably somewhat overestimated. In any event, the last five years have materially altered the situation. Rural population has reversed its trend and is now at its all-time high. The effort to depopulate marginal areas has been greatly stimulated, but has been more than offset by the creation of new communities in the country and by the fact that homesteading in many areas has during the past few years been more active than at any previous time for a generation.

While almost every state has its quota of unchurched neighborhoods, their presence is most evident in the sparsely settled areas of the West and Southwest and in mountainous or otherwise retarded sections. The results of a few special studies may be cited upon this point. The survey made in 1931 by the Home Missions Council of 194 scattered townships in Oklahoma showed 44, with a population of 27,000, without churches of any sort within their bounds or reasonably accessible. A similar study of 485 towns in Maine showed 131, with a popula-

[1] Morse and Brunner, *The Town and Country Church in the United States,* 1923.

tion of 38,000, without active Protestant churches. A study of retarded areas, made by the Institute of Social and Religious Research and published in 1932 under the title *Hinterlands of the Church*, revealed the existence of such areas widely scattered throughout the country, in which churches were either not present at all or were too feeble for effective work. Further evidence to the same effect is furnished by the fact that itinerant missionaries maintain over 9,900 mission Sunday schools, chiefly in scattered neighborhoods of the South and West, practically all of which are in places that have no active churches.

In home mission fields outside of continental United States—as, for example, Alaska and the various islands of the West Indies—the occupation of the territory by the church is far from complete. In Cuba, for example, most of the Protestant churches are in the cities and larger towns. The rural areas and many small towns are largely unreached. Haiti and the Dominican Republic are still less adequately served.

In the course of that continuous redistribution of population of which we have spoken, new communities are constantly coming into existence in sufficient numbers to be an important factor in home mission policy. For the time being the processes of suburban growth and of industrial development are slowed up, but they are by no means eliminated. Some of these new communities are mushroom growths, but

others develop into important permanent places. In either event they call for the extension of the church's service and for a new cooperative Christian planning and strategy.

At the present time, as a result of policies developed by the federal government, there are many emergency situations calling for a new technique of religious work. Among these might be cited the communities created by such emergency engineering projects as Boulder Dam, Bonneville Dam, Norris Dam and other similar developments, the homestead communities, of which several are well along toward completion and a considerable number of others are planned, and the very many government conservation camps, in which several hundred thousand young men are in residence for longer or shorter periods.

ASPECTS OF NEED

1. *Migrant Workers.* There has always been migrancy in this country. Many of the pioneers who headed the westward-moving tide of settlement were essentially migrants, restless men with no permanent habitation. The days of settlement over, their wanderlust found plenty of other outlets as the frontier was growing up. In time various industries developed that, because of the seasonal nature of their demand for labor, stimulated the constant movement of large bodies of men from place to place. Such were the logging industry, some aspects of railroad construction work, wheat harvesting and other seasonal agri-

cultural operations, mining, oil-drilling and many other industries. In some of these operations not men alone but whole families were utilized, as in canneries, on cranberry bogs, truck farms and fruit farms. So to an increasing extent the army of migrants has included women and children.

The problem of migrancy presents itself in two characteristically different forms. On the one hand, there are the large number of migrants whose varied employments are within or near communities having churches, schools and other social facilities. The difficulty here is partly that their residence in any one place is too brief for the institutions of that community to establish proper relations with them in order to meet their individual and group needs. The number of migrants in temporary residence is often too great to be readily served through the facilities of a rural community. In some measure, too, there often exists a lack of desire to serve these transitory strangers because of racial or social barriers. On the other hand, there are those migrants whose seasonal employment takes them more or less away from developed communities and assembles them where there are no community institutions save as they are developed for their particular service.

For many years now the churches and the mission agencies have been increasingly aware of the challenge and the opportunity presented by these multitudes whom the ordinary institutions of settled communities do not reach or serve. No accurate census

of their number is possible, but the problem is unquestionably one of very large dimensions.

A generation ago the principal emphasis on work among the migrants was placed upon the lumber camp. The average deep-woods lumber camp has not been seasonal in its demand for labor in the same sense that the vegetable cannery, for example, is seasonal, but it has characteristically had a high turnover in labor. The men lived in barracks, cut off from family life and from ordinary social opportunities. The very large number ordinarily engaged in logging, the difficult conditions under which they lived and worked, and the comparatively high type of individual found in the camps, all combined to make this an exceedingly appealing and worthwhile field of service. During recent years in most sections of the country there has been a gradual change in the methods of conducting logging operations. The tendency now is away from the isolated camp and toward a system under which the men are concentrated in some village where a mill is located and are transported to and from camps in the vicinity.

Another type of industry in connection with which there is a high degree of migrancy is the oil industry. In many sections where drilling has begun communities have sprung up almost overnight, often declining, after a few years, with almost equal rapidity. The impossibility of determining in advance what degree of permanency a new oil community

may develop has made adequate service to such communities difficult.

The situation among the farm and cannery migrants is sufficiently distinct to call for a more extended notice. Many thousands of migrants, the majority in family groups, are employed by canners and growers to harvest and pack the fruit and vegetable crops as well as sea foods. The employment period in a given crop area extends from a few weeks to the rare maximum of six months. One crop being harvested, the migrant moves on to answer the call in another area. Such migration may continue for the period of the entire year, but in some instances the migrants move to near-by cities for the winter months. Many nationalities are represented. Within those migrant family groups, it is estimated, approximately two hundred thousand children are included. Because of their wandering life they are in a given community for so short a period that they are not easily assimilable. The essential needs of childhood go unsatisfied. Among them and their parents there are spiritual and social problems of great urgency having to do with education, health, child labor, social and recreational life and morals.

The exact degree to which the needs of these various migrant groups are now being met cannot be exactly computed since the groups themselves cannot be accurately counted. Doubtless a good deal of service is rendered by local agencies of which no record is ever made. The lumber camps have had

considerable attention for a generation or more, and the oil camps have usually received religious service although there is a great deal more to be done. For the agricultural migrants a praiseworthy service is rendered on an interdenominational basis through the Council of Women for Home Missions, in cooperation with many child-serving agencies, national and local. But the inadequacy of this program and the need for its extension may be inferred from the fact that, of the estimated total of approximately two hundred thousand migrant children, only about four thousand are now being reached.

2. *Racial Groups.* Another major aspect of the need for evangelistic extension concerns the various distinctive racial groups with which the home missions program is concerned. It may legitimately be asked why it seems necessary to establish separate churches for such groups and why they cannot be adequately served through other churches in the communities in which they are found. Does not home missions, in maintaining separate foreign-language churches, seem to lend itself to a degree of racial discrimination and segregation alien to the spirit of Christ?

If, in a community racially or socially composite, separate churches are maintained for white and black, for Italian and Slav and Mexican and Oriental, do we not, thereby, retard the development of national unity, not to say spiritual unity, which it should be our first purpose to advance? If, through

a missionary program, a local American church is relieved of its responsibility to seek out and win to Christ people of other backgrounds and traditions than it represents, is this not a disservice to the larger interests of the kingdom as well as to the religious development of the local church? Can the Christian church really grow in grace and power if, in its local organizations, it is stratified and departmentalized on grounds of race or color or social status? Such questions admit of no easy answer for those who profess to believe in the universality of Christian brotherhood. It is not to be denied that in some measure the need to ask such questions is a reproach to the Christian church.

There is a legitimate answer which constitutes a partial justification. As regards foreign-language groups, the necessity of service in some language other than English, so long as that necessity actually exists, is a controlling factor. To some extent, too, such racial groups are found in separate communities, necessarily calling for separate racial enterprises. Historically, for practically every one of these distinct racial groups the first need was to develop a specialized leadership and specialized techniques. Racial distinctions may have no spiritual validity but they are stubborn facts, which have had to be taken into practical account.

Another important consideration is that groups which present different stages of development, not only religiously but culturally, will often make bet-

ter progress, for a time at least, if each is permitted to formulate a program adapted to its own peculiar genius. Such separateness should not be carried beyond the cultural merging point, and always involves some danger of spiritual loss. But real values have emerged from thus encouraging each group to seek the fullest development of its own capacities. Finally, we must recognize—we should be blind, otherwise—that racial prejudice exists within the membership of the church as well as in the community at large. This prejudice it is our aim to eradicate. But while it exists it must be taken into account. Such prejudice is one of the greatest obstacles home missions has to surmount.

In general there is an encouraging trend away from religious separatism and toward that spiritual unity which is recognized as the ideal. The attainment of the ideal has a distinct bearing upon the question of the adequacy of this part of the home missions program, since the larger number of these distinctive races are in communities that are amply provided with churches, even though the separate racial churches may be unable to cope with the task. In such situations we have to consider to what degree the process of social assimilation has been successful. The more distinctive the racial characteristics of any group are, the less easy is it to serve that group through racially composite churches. Where the group is actually segregated, as many are, the problem presents peculiar difficulties.

The eastern and southern European groups, such as Italians, Slavs, and Magyars, which are largely concentrated in the cities, are served, so far as Protestantism is concerned, by separate language churches now becoming increasingly bilingual. This is even more true of the older German and Scandinavian groups, both rural and urban, which have, of course, a much larger Protestant constituency. Encouraging progress has been made, and with none of these groups is the problem primarily one of increasing the number of churches, but rather of strengthening and developing those we have. For most of these groups there would seem to be no sound reason why church development should not in the future be increasingly along interracial lines.

The Negro population, still predominantly rural but with a rapidly growing urban element, is, in general, more than amply provided with separate racial churches. There is no other racial group that has been so prone to multiply the number of its churches. It is quite exceptional to find Negroes in any numbers united with other races in the same church organization.

The Oriental groups present one of the most distinctive racial strains in America. For the Chinese and Japanese, the two largest groups, a sufficient number of missionary enterprises are available in the most populous centers of the West, where the majority of them are. But the scattered populations are largely unreached. The more recent Filipino

immigration, which, before it was checked by legislation related to Philippine independence, had reached a total of over forty-five thousand, mostly men, is perhaps more inadequately served than any other racial group.

Of the special racial groups native to this continent, the largest is the Spanish-speaking population of the Southwest. This population is divided into two distinct types. The Spanish Americans, descendants of the earlier Spanish settlers of the Southwest, are largely resident in separate communities of New Mexico and southern Colorado. Through this predominantly Spanish-speaking area Protestant churches are, in general, available although their service needs greatly to be strengthened and extended. So far as numbers of churches are concerned, however, this area is as adequately churched as other sections of the West. The second type comprises the great majority of our total Spanish-speaking population. They are the more recent Mexican immigrants and are widely scattered throughout the Southwest and to a less extent through the Middle West. In the more populous centers churches are generally available, elsewhere the work needs to be greatly extended.

Among the American Indians missions are maintained on all the more important reservations and among the larger tribes. Many small, scattered groups are as yet unreached.

The racial group in America for whom the least

is done by Protestant Christianity and who present the Protestant Church with its most difficult problem are the Jews. Their number is now in excess of 4,500,000. They are present in considerable numbers in practically every city and large town in America. They represent a variety of national backgrounds. For the most part they are not concentrated in distinctive Jewish communities. To an increasing degree they are a people without any active religious life. The number of Christian enterprises directed particularly toward Jews is small compared with the number of people to be reached. An increasing emphasis, however, is to encourage the average church within whose parish Jews are resident to undertake a friendly Christian approach to them. It seems unlikely that there will be any great increase in the number of separate Jewish missions.

These are some of the obvious factors that indicate a continuing need for a program of evangelistic extension in home missions. Such a program will of necessity take various forms according to circumstances and will involve elements of service other than evangelism or church development in the strict sense. These will be discussed in succeeding chapters. Almost every community has some baffling problem akin to these, which must be solved before Christianity can be brought to all its people and made to apply to all its life.

VI

EVANGELIZATION—THE MEANS

How shall an enterprise of home missions that accepts evangelization as its primary aim, and that realizes to how great a degree that aim is as yet unfulfilled, undertake to meet such situations as were described in the previous chapter? What is necessary in an adequate program of evangelization for home missions today?

CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT

We have already said that the establishment of new churches is no longer the most important element of an extension program. For the most part the conditions we have been discussing are better met in other ways. As a matter of fact, the establishment of a church is seldom the first step in the service of a previously unreached population, but follows after the ground has been prepared by other means, such as the work of a mission Sunday school or community station. The existence of unreached millions is not, therefore, in itself evidence that the denominations should again launch upon a program of establishing churches in considerable numbers. Nevertheless, there is a distinct need for a limited number of new churches.

The organized church is the natural expression of Christian fellowship and the most effective medium of Christian worship, education and service. Any community or group that has been won to a degree of Christian discipleship, and for which there is no available church, ultimately calls for one. There is general agreement among the denominations constituent to the Home Missions Council that all newly established churches ought to be strictly non-competitive. It is their desire and intention that church extension be carried out under definite inter-denominational agreements and in conformity with a carefully planned cooperative strategy. This is designed to avoid not only the competitive excesses of the past, but also its opportunism. In most cities considerable progress has been made in this direction, under the guidance of the comity committees of the federations of churches. Comity, however, as ordinarily understood and practised, does not meet the full needs. What is required, not only in each metropolitan area, but for a state area as well, is a well organized planning board whose function it would be to develop a constructive, long-range strategy, based on a study of the entire field for its adequate service by the churches.

ITINERANT EVANGELISM AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

In more sparsely settled territory, where villages and towns are infrequent and where country communities are large in area and small in population,

the maintenance of organized churches with regularly assigned ministers is always difficult and frequently impossible. In more closely settled rural districts, also, there are many instances of neighborhoods comparatively isolated from the larger centers and with population and resources too restricted to permit the maintenance of separate churches. Under such circumstances one of the most practicable and fruitful forms of Christian service is that rendered by a Sunday school missionary, or some other type of itinerant worker. Such a worker with a definitely assigned area can establish and supervise Sunday schools and other religious groups, carry forward a carefully planned program of religious education and leadership training, and provide a modicum of pastoral care and evangelistic cultivation. The agencies associated with the Home Missions Council now have in the field about three hundred such workers, who have under their care Sunday schools in over ninety-nine hundred communities. They work in obscure out-of-the-way places unvisited by regular ministers and where other facilities for religious cultivation are absent.

Something of the nature of this program of itinerant evangelism may be illustrated from the work of one board, which supports 127 Sunday school missionaries. This group of workers are now responsible for about 3,400 Sunday schools with a total enrolment of 135,000. In one year they conducted 339 teacher-training classes, 266 Sunday

school institutes, 4,100 workers' conferences, and 1,762 vacation Bible schools. They enlisted 5,893 rural public schools in the regular week-day teaching of the Bible, providing them a non-sectarian manual for that purpose. These rural schools were in addition to the many thousands of other schools that had been previously enrolled for such service. They visited 132,000 families, delivered 26,000 public addresses, and conducted 571 evangelistic services with 3,482 conversions. They distributed over 12,500,000 pages of religious tracts and periodicals and over 42,000 Bibles, Testaments and other religious books. In the course of their work they traveled during a single year over 1,750,000 miles.

Wherever possible the mission Sunday school is tied up with an organized church in some adjacent community for the definite cultivation of the church interest. Perhaps no more than one in a hundred of such schools in the course of any given year progresses to the point where a separate church organization is possible or desirable. This whole program is essentially non-denominational, even when supported by a denominational agency. No attempt is made to capitalize it for sectarian purposes. It is an unselfish Christian service to men, women and children who would otherwise be left without religious oversight or care. For work of this type there is no available substitute and there is no apparent diminution, but rather an increase, in the need for

it. If additional resources were available, such work could with advantage be intensified by reducing the area to be covered by a single worker.

It is often feasible to serve unchurched communities in connection with near-by organized churches on a "larger parish" basis, provided there is a sufficient staff to make possible an aggressive extension program. The best results are secured when a trained religious-education worker is attached to the parish or church staff to specialize particularly in work with children and young people. Such workers are called by various names, directors of religious education, teachers of religion, deaconesses, parish workers. By whatever name called, she—such a worker is usually a woman—establishes contact with public schools, conducts vacation Bible schools and classes in week-day religious instruction, visits in the homes, develops organized groups of children and young people for Bible study, leadership training, social life and recreation, and other purposes, establishes Sunday schools at distant points when needed, and in general makes possible a program of intensive cultivation of those interests in which the rural church is usually weakest. It is the conviction of most rural church executives that development of work of this sort through such special workers offers the surest method to advance the evangelization of the countryside.

A somewhat different form of itinerant ministry is that of the missionary colporteur. In some in-

stances the colporteur differs from the Sunday school missionary more in name than in fact, but, in general, the distinction is a real one. The principal function of the colporteur is to visit in the homes of unchurched and often non-Christian families, to talk with them informally about religion, and to distribute among them copies of the Bible and other forms of religious literature. Usually they work with those who cannot be gathered into Sunday schools or other formal organizations, often among the unchurched in cities where those who are reached can be put in touch with existing churches. This is much more a ministry to individuals than to groups and is chiefly valuable where the maintenance of organizations is not necessary or possible.

A particularly appealing form of itinerant missionary service, because of the dire need of those to whom it is directed, is the cooperative service for migrants to which a passing reference has been made. This program is supported by the home missions boards of sixteen denominations through the Council of Women for Home Missions and is conducted at thirty-five different centers in thirteen states. A resident worker, preferably a nurse trained also in religious education, is stationed at a selected point for the period during which the migrant workers are in residence there. This worker enlists the cooperation of various volunteers in the community. She is principally concerned with the children, whose plight from the point of view of the normal advan-

tages which childhood should have is pitiable indeed. The program emphasizes particularly health, recreation and religious education. So far as possible all the local resources of the immediate community are enlisted. So far the resources available for this program have permitted the Council of Women to do little more than pioneer a method of service and demonstrate its value and practicability. Only the outer fringe of the total problem is being touched.

Various other forms of itinerant service have been developed to meet the needs of particular situations. Thus, in the logging areas missionaries are maintained, each assigned to serve a specified number of camps, varying according to their size and accessibility. The lumber camp missionary, on his periodic visits to a camp, talks personally with the men, conducts public services of worship whenever opportunity offers, distributes religious and other literature and, in general, makes himself a friend and counselor to as many as possible of the men. Along the coast line of southeastern Alaska missionary boats make possible a ministry to otherwise inaccessible settlements. During the fishing season particularly, when the Alaskan Indians migrate to the fishing grounds, the missionary program would have to be practically suspended were it not for the launch in which the missionary follows his people. In various sections of the West excellent use has been made of railroad cars and trucks that have been fitted as chapels. Such devices are recognitions of the obvious truth that

when people are on the move, the church, if it would reach them, must be on the move also; and if the people cannot or will not come to the church, the church must go to them.

EXTENDING THE INTEREST OF THE LOCAL CHURCH

When everything has been done that can reasonably be done to penetrate the unreached communities and overtake all migrating groups with a Christian ministry, there will still be left undone a large task of evangelistic extension. Two widely prevalent conditions are to no small degree responsible for the fact that so many people are completely overlooked by existing churches. One is the tendency of the average church unduly to restrict its parish to its immediate vicinity; the other is its tendency to confine itself to its immediate constituency. Where denominational lines are tightly drawn, as they so generally are, individual churches feel constrained to keep strictly within them to avoid the appearance of proselytizing. The result is that churches neglect many real opportunities of needed service. If every church were fired by sufficient missionary zeal to expand its area of ministry geographically to its reasonable maximum and diligently to seek all types and conditions of people within its parish and if, where more than one church is present, such a program were developed on a definitely cooperative basis, much of this need could be met.

The home missions enterprise is attacking this

problem in many ways. As an illustration of one way, the "Standards for Aided Churches" formulated by one mission board call upon each church to extend its ministry throughout the entire area of its community and definitely to undertake the extension of its service into any contiguous areas where other evangelical churches are not present and active. Within this larger area the church is expected to make a study to determine the needs existing to which it should minister, and to conduct throughout the area such activities as the following, so far as they may be needed: (1) the maintenance of mission Sunday schools and preaching stations; (2) systematic pastoral visitation; (3) evangelistic services; (4) cooperation with public schools in week-day religious instruction; and (5) vacation Bible schools.

Such a conception of a church program is, of course, as applicable to a self-supporting as to an aid-receiving church. There was a time when much of the impetus to expand the missionary program derived from the zeal of local congregations to extend the range of their own influence. A similar zeal, if re-created under modern conditions, directed by intelligent study, and guided by a sensitive appreciation of the principles of Christian cooperation, could through existing churches provide an adequate religious ministry for much of the unserved area of America.

In the rural field the most interesting and promising form of organization for such an expanded pro-

gram is the Larger Parish, or, as some prefer to call it, the Community Parish. There is no exact or authoritative definition of a Larger Parish. It may be set up on a denominational or an interdenominational basis. It may include two or three or any reasonable number of organized churches. Occasionally, in fact, it includes only a single church. Its form and program will vary according to circumstances. Its essential idea is to unite in a common program of ministry all the available religious forces within one natural, larger community. Such a program seeks to meet all the needs of all the people resident within this defined area. Ideally it is served by a staff of specialists so that it may provide a multiple ministry emphasizing public worship, religious education, and various forms of community activities. An important feature of its organization is a Larger Parish council including representatives of each neighborhood and of each organization within the parish. This method of organization permits weak churches to secure a specialized and highly effective ministry by combining their resources. Such an organization not only makes possible a more comprehensive program functionally, but also furthers a more intensive cultivation of the area served.

EVANGELISM THROUGH OTHER INSTITUTIONS

In the more distinctively missionary areas one of the important ways in which the task of pioneer evangelism is carried forward is through the work

of mission schools, hospitals and community stations. In the boarding school or home, particularly, the intimacy of relations between pupils and staff and the opportunity offered for an intensive program of religious education at the most formative age make this one of the most effective evangelistic agencies we have. Such schools have great possibilities for the training of volunteer religious leadership. They have done important pioneer work in developing programs of religious education adapted to the special needs of student bodies and of the communities from which they come.

A significant aspect of the programs of such schools is found in their frequent emphasis upon the religious activities of the students both within and without the school itself. For example, in one school gospel teams carry on a regular program of evangelistic extension, reaching many communities within a radius of one hundred miles of the school. In another school an organized group of older students has taken over the responsibility of developing the religious work in a near-by community in which the church had been inactive. Another school makes service in its immediate community a definite part of its religious education program. In a group of boarding schools for Negro children, definite instruction in vacation Bible school and Sunday school work is offered each year and children are recruited for voluntary service during their summer vacations. From this group of schools in a recent year one

hundred and forty part-time volunteer helpers were secured to assist in the conduct of vacation Bible schools in their home communities. Similar instances could be cited from all over the mission field.

The community station or neighborhood house, which is often maintained where a church is not yet possible, through its practical daily ministries opens the way for a sympathetic approach to personal religious problems. In many a difficult field a community worker, more often than not a consecrated woman, is patiently laying the foundations upon which some day a strong church may stand. The Christian hospital, too, has often an unparalleled opportunity for the presentation in simple, appealing terms of the gospel message.

CHURCH ADJUSTMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

With full recognition of the evangelistic contribution to be made in the various ways just mentioned, it remains true that the most important element in a program of evangelization concerns the maintenance and fullest possible use of existing churches. This requires us to consider the number of churches and their location, and also the types of churches needed and the programs they should develop.

The first question is, Are there too many churches and, if so, to what degree is home missions responsible? Looked at from almost any point of view, it must be conceded that America has a larger number of churches than it requires or than it can ade-

quately support. The Home Missions Council has long maintained that for a homogeneous and reasonably accessible population the standard should be one church for every one thousand people in a rural community. Cities, because of greater density of population and higher costs of operation, should have relatively fewer churches. In rural America as a whole the actual average, based on the total population, is about one church to five hundred and fifty people. But this ratio is misleading, since the total population includes a substantial number who do not live within the parish of any church. The more closely settled sections invariably exceed this average, many counties having a church to every two hundred people or fewer.

It can confidently be said that if some national catastrophe were suddenly to remove all existing rural churches, a very great proportion of them would never be reestablished where they are or as they are. Thousands of churches, organized when roads that were all but impassable through much of the year isolated their neighborhoods, are under modern conditions brought into serious competition with near-by churches of their own or other denominations. Thousands of other churches, established in towns or villages with the expectation that future population growth would provide ample constituencies, remain now to compete for the support of static or declining populations. At least a majority of rural churches were established when prevailing

standards of equipment, support and program were meager, indeed, and were within the reach of a group with very limited resources. Such churches now face the problem of providing a program of worship, religious education and community service comparable to the advances made in the field of public education and capable of reaching and holding a generation with a very different intellectual and social outlook than formerly prevailed.

Home missions had its part in the initial establishment of these churches, though it was by no means responsible for all of them. It is only fair to say that most of them in their time seemed amply justified according to prevailing conceptions. Home missions has its part in maintaining these churches today. A careful study made of the distribution of the home missions funds of five major denominations shows clearly that home missions aid is not the decisive factor in the maintenance of competitive and unnecessary churches. The major problem of competition concerns the self-supporting churches and the entire ecclesiastical organization. But home missions aid is a factor in competition and the boards concerned are attempting resolutely to deal with the problem in various ways, which will be discussed in a later chapter. There is obvious need for discrimination in the use of missionary money, related to a constructive, forward-looking program which brings together the religious forces in every area for an effective community-wide service.

Related to this question is the constant need of adjusting the programs of individual parishes to community conditions that, in the great majority of cases, have radically changed within the space of a generation or less. Left to themselves, churches facing such changing environments often become hopelessly mired. Sometimes they are abandoned altogether, as thousands have been. Sometimes, in desperation, they seek to escape the limitations of what is perhaps a very needy situation by moving to a more favored locality. In this process the total cause of religion has often lost immeasurably. There is no more needful service to be rendered by home mission agencies in the cause of evangelization than that of close cooperation with individual churches, to assist them in the readjustments necessary to meet changing needs.

A dramatic illustration of what may be accomplished by such cooperation is found in the history of a parish church in a downtown residential section of one of our large cities. As its neighborhood changed in character and the old families migrated toward the fringes of the city, the church entered upon a long period of gradual decline. Ultimately, the remaining members of the congregation came to the point of abandoning the old location, which in the meantime had become the center of a great polyglot community of immigrant peoples. It then became possible, through the aid of national and local home mission forces, to institute a new program,

in which the old congregation gave their hearty cooperation. Subsequently the character of the neighborhood changed again. Negroes from the South, drawn to that city by its demand for low-priced labor, settled around the old church, gradually displacing the foreign populations. Their need was as great as that of the former residents, but it was different. After a period of indecision, the program was once again reconstituted and a splendid interracial service came into being. In greater or less degree many thousands of churches have seen such transformations take place within their neighborhoods.

One of the fundamental and continuing concerns of home missions is for that great number of churches which, by all reasonable missionary tests, are adjudged necessary, but which do not themselves have sufficient resources to assure stability. It is sometimes assumed that this chiefly results from the pressure of competition, and that if all unnecessary churches were eliminated the remaining ones could easily support themselves. Thus there would no longer be any need for home missions aid. This is to argue that there is no longer need for any policy looking toward the equalization of resources and privileges between the more and the less favored communities or classes. Such a point of view, it seems to us, is not consistent with the facts of current life, unless we are to take our stand in defense of an uncompromising individualism, which believes that

no one should have anything that he cannot pay for without aid. No such policy would be tolerated in the fields of education, public health, good roads, or economic development, and such a policy is not deserving of consideration in relation to the church so long as there exist in this country such glaring contrasts in well-being.

There is no way to estimate what proportion of all existing churches in the United States would be able, without any outside assistance whatsoever, to support a reasonably adequate program of work, with a competent full-time ministry. A large proportion of all churches either actually receive financial aid or supplement their local resources by combining with other churches in circuits. Many have ministers who partially support themselves by other occupations, or who serve for nominal salaries or without compensation. Another large group are practically inactive through much of the year. Certainly it would be an understatement to say that as many as two thirds of all Protestant churches are unable without assistance to support a standard program of church work on a reasonable minimum level.

The significant considerations here seem to be two. The first is that those churches that in a broad, long-term view are needed for the work of the kingdom should be assured of a stable and reliable maintenance, which will equalize the disparity in their local resources. This maintenance should be on a basis that will attract and hold a high quality of

trained leadership and will not detract from efficiency. The other consideration is that with such support there should also go assistance in the provision of suitable equipment and in the development of an adequate program of service adapted to community needs and conforming to the highest standards of church work. Such a policy should have in view not only those churches, rural and urban, upon which the English-speaking, white majority of the population depend, but also, and upon equal terms, churches needed for the service of any special racial or language groups that can only be reached or can best be reached through churches distinctively their own.

In addition to this fundamental service in the maintenance and development of local churches, home missions agencies have service of a more general sort to render the church as a whole. They have been pioneers in devising the most fruitful methods of church organization and program adapted to the special needs of urban, rural, or foreign-language communities. They have provided special assistance in the securing of buildings and equipment. They have been active in promoting the spirit and practice of evangelism. They have served and should continue to serve in many other ways that will make for the development of the church at large. It is a part of their task to lead each congregation to take the same broad view of its immediate responsibility that home missions takes of the field as a whole.

If each church can be brought to feel this sense of spiritual responsibility for all types and conditions of people within its parish, there will be less unoccupied territory and far less need for special programs to reach particular races or classes. And the spiritual life of the church will be enriched in the process.

VII

HOME MISSIONS AND SOCIAL WELFARE

THE early missionary was usually animated by a single and very definite purpose. It was no mere humanitarian impulse that drew him from home to endure the hardships and dangers of the wilderness. Something of the lure of adventure, something of the appeal of the unknown he must have felt. But in responding to the call of the frontier, his driving and sustaining purpose was to make Christ known to those who, he conceived, would otherwise be lost. Whatever the exigencies of circumstance may have led them to do, men like John Eliot, David Brainerd, Gideon Blackburn, Peter Cartwright, Jason Lee, Sheldon Jackson, and a host of others, who in their times did many different things, thought of themselves as simple preachers of Christ. And that is precisely what they were. But adventuring afield taught them what it taught Paul, that to win all manner of men the gospel must be set forth in many forms.

These early missionaries did not theorize overmuch as to what constituted "an adequate program of missionary work." They were not theorists but realists. Their policies were hammered out on the anvil of hard, practical experience. A missionary

came, let us say, to a tribe of Indians living the primitive, nomadic life that their fathers had lived for generations. They had no written language, so the Scriptures must remain a closed book to them. Their methods of life were such that, in the viewpoint of the missionary, there was little hope of bringing them into "a state of grace" unless they could be brought, first, into some sort of civilized way of living. Disease often took heavy toll among them, especially after they had come into contact with the vices of civilization, always more readily absorbed by primitive peoples than its virtues. The response of a conscientious, intelligent missionary to such a situation was inevitable. The children, and the adults, too, if they could be persuaded, were gathered into schools to be taught the simple elements of knowledge. Alphabets were fashioned for the native languages so that they could be reduced to writing. The Scriptures, Christian hymns, and religious tracts were translated. Instruction was given in farming and in household arts. Simple medicines were dispensed.

The missionaries to the white settlements on the frontier faced similar practical needs. It is easy, in thinking of the romance and adventure of the frontier, to minimize its hardships. To most of the early settlers the hardships were more real than the romance. The missionaries found people lacking even the bare necessities of life. Schools were poor or non-existent. Great areas were without a physician or a nurse or any means of securing medicines in

times of sickness. Poverty and hunger were everywhere. Can one preach a compassionate Christ and ignore such dire human need? The conscientious missionary could not. So he dispensed alms, gave relief in illness, established schools, and rendered many other types of friendly service as a simple expression of Christian compassion. Doubtless in most cases he thought of such service as incidental to his main purpose and as probably temporary.

As the country developed, leading missionaries exerted great influence in stimulating public education and in supporting every kind of public effort looking toward a higher type of community life. Mission schools, established for the training of church leaders or simply to meet a local need for elementary education, often developed into denominational colleges and universities or were taken over to be supported out of public funds as state institutions. Most of the evangelical denominations early abandoned any idea they may have had of establishing and maintaining a complete system of parochial schools. Instead, they threw their influence behind the development of an adequate system of public education. This system, as we know it today, owes no little of its early progress to the force of the missionary movement.

On the other hand, after the older frontiers had disappeared there were sections where frontier conditions still persisted. Certain areas lagged behind the normal development of the nation and in them

much of the need of the frontier remained. It came to be realized that in such areas the work of the church must for a long time be supplemented by Christian agencies for education, for medical care, and for varied programs of community service. When that was recognized, such interests of necessity ceased to be merely side-lines of overworked ministers, poorly prepared to care for them, and were set up in separate institutions under specially trained workers, usually women or laymen.

In Indian missions this transition was under way by about 1835. It was perhaps another forty years before the permanence of this institutional and service aspect of home missions became generally an accepted policy. When it did, this phase of the task was in large measure turned over to the women of the church for support and often for administration. The strong appeal which this special type of service made to women greatly stimulated the growth throughout the mission field of educational, medical and community service institutions. In general, the women's missionary organizations insisted on high standards of excellence in the institutions they supported and were willing to meet the cost in time and money that such standards entail.

TRENDS AND POLICIES

In the past fifty years great changes have taken place, which fundamentally affect the status of this service program in home missions. Twice fifty years

ago the older settled communities of the East began to devise means to meet the needs for education, the care of health, and the relief of distress and poverty. Elsewhere, as one section after another won through the raw pioneering stage, similar policies were set in motion. Here we see the democratic ideal of equality of opportunity for all given practical form in the accepted public policy of making at least a minimum provision for education, for health and for social well-being. Such progress was made possible by the intensive material development that proceeded at an unprecedented rate once the pioneer stage was safely past.

It was not long before the necessity was recognized of supplementing this fundamental policy by another —that of equalizing unequal resources by the organization of certain interests in larger units than the local community, usually the county or the state, but in some instances even the federal government itself. Gradually at first, and then more rapidly, the sphere of such large-scale social action widened, not equally in all sections, but affecting in some measure at least every part of our national domain. To fill in the gaps—and in many respects to lead the way in the stimulation of public interest—there grew up a host of philanthropic agencies and institutions. Many of these were the children of the church, or at least were influenced strongly by the church's concern for human welfare. Some were local enterprises for the care of dependent elements of the population. Others

moved to wider fields of research and pioneer experimentation and comprehensive remedial projects.

Even before the exceptional conditions of the early thirties of this century operated to broaden in an unprecedented manner the sphere of such activities, public and private, almost every conceivable aspect of human need was embraced in such plans of social action. It is to be observed that religion, with or without the active cooperation of the churches, has not been wholly excluded. Educational institutions have quite generally added to the traditional business of the school a lively concern for health, recreation, social welfare and many related interests. Our public and private educational system has so far developed that practically one fourth of our entire population are engaged, either as students or instructors, in educational activities. Consider, too, how far we have moved toward civic and other governmental participation in all forms of social, health, and community work. For example, almost three fourths of all hospital services today are under governmental agencies.

This whole process has certain unmistakably significant implications for the missionary enterprise.

In the first place, such services have passed out of the stage of exigent action in which they originated—the stage in which one agency or another turned aside from its main purpose to meet a problem that blocked its path,—into a stage of settled public policy that affirms a collective concern for

the basic human welfare of all our people. Fixed minimum standards of human welfare cannot be exactly formulated; but the general welfare policy has undoubtedly become firmly established as a part of the American theory of collective living. There can be no doubt that the church and the mission agencies have contributed mightily to the spread of this thoroughly Christian point of view.

Second, the earlier unplanned and unsystematic programs of home missions in the field of such service must now be viewed in the perspective of this many-sided development. Home missions forces generally accept the viewpoint that their primary concern with respect to such interests is to stimulate activity by the state or private philanthropy so that the church may be freed for its major business. This has actually been an almost continuous process. Mission agencies, for example, were the pioneers in the development of schools for Indians, Negroes, and southern highlanders; also in Cuba, Alaska and elsewhere through the mission field. Literally hundreds of these schools have passed from missionary to public auspices as public interest was stimulated and as leaders were prepared in these very schools to carry them on. The same has been true to a certain degree of medical and other forms of community work.

In the third place, in all this development, public and private, there has been a steady movement from the simple concept of charity, the alleviation of specific handicaps and deficiencies, toward professional

standards and scientific techniques. The trend has been to inaugurate the newer constructive ideal of democratic service through the attainment of a higher level of practical efficiency and the eradication of unfavorable conditions. Mission services in these fields, without abating anything of their missionary motive or significance, are necessarily being brought within the scope of such improved methods of operation.

Fourth, it is clear that missions, like private philanthropy, in its dealings with dependent or handicapped peoples has had a history in which a patronizing paternalism has played a large part. With increasing clarity we see that this paternalistic attitude, however amiable and unselfish its motives, must be replaced by a practising belief in the capacity of the people whom and with whom we serve. In this service ministry, as in the more directly evangelistic activities, the cultivation of local initiative, local leadership, and local direction and support are fundamental to final success. In a profound sense this development of local capacity and interest is the very heart of the whole missionary process, whose essential objective is the creation of Christian standards and valuations and the communication of the Christian dynamic.

Fifth, we are convinced that no possible degree of expansion of public or private activities is ever likely completely to relieve the church of responsibility in this field of service. So great are the

divergencies of capacity and initiative within the extent of the mission field, so many and varied are the needs, and so great the numbers of those affected by them, that no probable development of public or private philanthropy can completely cover the field. While such a conclusion would not be acceptable to those who are attracted by the theory of the totalitarian state, for America, at least,

> a more profound social analysis makes one doubt whether there are any spheres in which responsibility for human well-being can be exhausted by the fullest possible expansion of public activity. It is more likely that a wholesome balance between the public duty of the state and the private duty of its citizens, voluntarily organizing themselves as men of good-will, requires a permanent activity of both in all areas of human welfare and service. There is no point at which constructive public welfare does not need to be supplemented, and few at which voluntary initiative may not need to pioneer. Certainly, no activity of the state can absolve the church from her commission to serve in all ways essential to Christian fullness of life as differences in need and ability demand.[1]

PIONEERING

In its service ministry home missions has the same sort of functions to perform as it has in connection with evangelistic activities. There is, first, the need for pioneering. No agency is so well fitted as is the church through its home missionary program to probe out the weak joints in our social armor. Its missionary representatives have personal contact

[1] *Home Missions Today and Tomorrow,* p. 358.

with every section and almost every community of the nation. It considers the needs of every type of people of equal concern, their development of equal moment. It need be restrained by none of the ordinary practical or political considerations that inevitably limit and hamper governmental activity. It can afford to be patient and await the slow unfolding of local capacity and initiative, to persevere in the face of lack of appreciation or response, compensated by its own consciousness of needful duty faithfully performed. It responds, as it must respond, to the inner necessity of expressing its Christian faith, as the Master of the church expressed his faith, by ministering to every evident human need. Its very essential genius is to share. Save as it does so, it loses something vital in its own life.

No one familiar with conditions on the mission field will deny that such services are still indispensable and that today in far too many regions of our land there do exist conditions of the kind that marked the old frontier life at its worst. The last annual report of the Commonwealth Fund, commenting on recent developments in the field of medicine, adds this restrained comment: "It is time for realism to replace romanticism in American thinking about this matter: a basic reality is that rural medicine, by and large, is not good enough." The same thing and more could be said of the educational and social privileges of millions of our people—they are not good enough. The New York *Times* ended an

editorial comment on two significant programs of public health service by saying: "In spite of all the swift ways of communication and transportation, there is still a vast frontier left."

ADAPTATION AND DEVELOPMENT

What has been said of public and private progress in this field makes it evident that there is even greater need of flexibility in the service aspects of the mission program than in its evangelistic aspects. Mission agencies must be ever watchful to modify or discontinue any services that might involve competition with other agencies or retard rather than stimulate public responsibility. Furthermore, it is necessary, in view of the spontaneous and unplanned beginnings of these activities, to inquire whether the field is so occupied as to produce the most efficient results with the most judicious use of funds and personnel. There is, in fact, some competition among mission-supported service institutions and between them and public or private enterprises. Some areas are overoccupied, while other needy sections are comparatively neglected. This calls for a continuous process of study and adjustment, and a recognition that for many projects a diminishing need should be anticipated. This is particularly true in the educational field, but true also with respect to all other types of welfare projects.

It is not only to avoid waste or duplication that constant study is needed. There are many service in-

stitutions whose value is patent to all who know them but which have never fully realized the possibilities their situations afford them. For one thing, there must be alertness to keep their work abreast of the best technical developments and standards. In this question missionary motives are not involved. It simply means that mission agencies of this type should conform to sound technical standards. Furthermore, in the course of progress, requirements change. One type of institution may be useful today; quite another type may be required tomorrow.

It is equally important that all specialized service be viewed in its broad missionary setting. Mission agencies are not concerned with merely technical standards of institutional excellence. Our fundamental objectives are religious. Each specific activity must be regarded as part of an inclusive missionary program, which is basically religious. Its relationship to that total program is a primary consideration and the underlying missionary objectives must dominate its purpose. This is only another way of saying that the end should control the means, in mission work as elsewhere. It is a matter of common observation that a school or other type of institution often becomes so absorbed in its technical processes as to lose vital contact with the pressing community needs that immediately surround it. Not infrequently a mission school fails to take advantage of its natural community setting and offers its students a training which, instead of better fitting them for life in their

home community, merely encourages their escape from it. A wholesome corrective emphasis will insist that each institution see its task in relation to the needs of its area, to the other missionary enterprises at work there, and to the definite contribution it can make to the entire missionary program.

With such questions of adaptation and of integration into the full missionary program satisfactorily answered, as they are in process of being in very many cases, there remains the importance of maintaining such services on an assured basis of support that will give stability to the enterprise and permit the carrying out of long-term policies. While there is no doubt that institutional service of high order is comparatively expensive, it is a serious question whether under modern conditions any service in these fields that is not of high order is justified. In many parts of the mission field in these days one meets mission institutions that, like many denominational colleges, are operating on but little more than the proverbial shoestring. Whatever policy may be followed with reference to church work (and undersupport seems in these days almost the accepted rule), in the field of institutional service the course of wisdom will be to limit the extent of the program to what can be well done and adequately maintained.

VIII

THE MINISTRY OF SERVICE

WITH the general background provided by the last chapter, we may consider the different types of service that have an important place in the home missions program. Principally these are of three sorts, though with many varieties—educational, medical and community service.

EDUCATIONAL SERVICE

The agencies associated with the two interdenominational home missions councils are now maintaining a total of 440 mission schools with a staff of 2,765 workers. This does not take into account the small number of denominational schools supported on the mission field by other than the official home missions agencies, or the considerable number of schools that are privately supported. These 440 schools are of all types, ranging from one-room, one-teacher elementary day schools, through large day and boarding high schools and junior colleges, to colleges, universities and theological seminaries. They are widely distributed among all the areas and populations that are the special concern of home missions, including 171 among Negroes, 46 in the

southern mountains, 32 among Indians, 22 among the Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest, 58 among various other types of people, and 111 outside of continental United States.

Purposes and Objectives

The reasons for such an extensive educational program differ somewhat for the different areas and populations. The most prevalent reason is still, as it has always been, the inadequacy of public education. In countries like Cuba and the Dominican Republic, existing schools, particularly in the secondary school field, are wholly unequal to the task of caring for all who desire an education. In some sections, as in the southern mountains, the per capita expenditures from public funds for education are far below the reasonable requirements of a satisfactory educational system. The inadequacy of provision for Negroes in the South may be inferred from the fact that for fourteen southern states, school expenditures averaged $12.57 a year for each Negro pupil enrolled, as compared with $44.31 for each white pupil, even though the proportion of Negroes of school age actually enrolled in schools was less than that of white children. Over one million Negro children of school age in the South, or about one fourth of the total number, are out of school.[1]

[1] For summary of recent trends in Negro education see "Twenty Year Report, 1911-1931," published by the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1932; also see McCuistion, "Financing Schools in the South," and *Home Missions Today and Tomorrow*, pp. 165-6.

The gradual shift of emphasis in mission schools from elementary to junior and senior high school work shows the progress of public education in the lower grades and its relative retardation in the higher grades. Throughout the entire mission field, indeed, there has been most gratifying progress in public education during the past three decades. This has enabled the mission agencies to withdraw their schools from many communities, and in many others to change the character of work offered so as to supplement rather than compete with an expanding public school system. Although the last few years have dealt a severe blow to public education in many of these areas, we can look forward to the time when mission boards will largely be relieved of the need of furnishing elementary education.

These developments are enabling the mission schools to place an increasing stress on the importance of leadership training as a primary function. The purpose here is not always well defined or well articulated in the educational processes of the school. In general, it may be understood as marking a change from a program of "mass lift," to raise the average level of literacy, to a more selective process, having in view the quality of available religious, social and professional leadership. Particularly among peoples of alien religious faiths, this purpose of leadership training has become the controlling consideration in the schools, as the most effective element in a process of "peaceful penetration." To a certain extent, also,

one of the distinct purposes of mission schools is to pioneer in vocational training of a type not yet found within the public schools. A few mission-supported schools are highly specialized, professional institutions for the training of ministers, teachers, lay mission workers and nurses. Such schools, however, are provided for areas or populations not yet sufficiently served by other professional schools.

In all mission schools, of whatever type, there is a definite evangelistic purpose. Again it may be said that this purpose is not always well defined or always well worked out from the point of view of educational procedure. But it is, in general, unmistakably productive. Religious teaching and Bible instruction have an important place in the curriculum. Religious activities of many sorts are carried on. Very often the schools are themselves important centers of missionary extension activities. As a whole, such schools have shown themselves to be effective evangelizing agencies, winning a large proportion of their pupils to an active and vital Christian faith, and opening before many of them the door to Christian life service.

The tendency in most mission schools is toward a rather conventional educational pattern, worked out within the limits of the public school accredited curriculum. That this continues to be so shows how closely most mission schools have identified themselves, in their own thinking, with the public school

system, even at the apparent cost of some of the more obvious missionary objectives. In a few instances, however, there have been notable experiments by mission schools in a much freer mode, seeking to adapt the education offered to the peculiar requirements of the situations out of which the pupils come. There is some ground for an expectation that more and more mission schools will actually escape the public school stereotype and pioneer in the field of educational practices that are better adapted to the very nature of those circumstances that justify the continuance of a missionary interest in education.

Southern Mountain Schools

The significance of the variations in educational service may best be made clear by illustrations. The southern mountain area may be taken as an example. Most of the earlier mission schools here were day schools, a large majority of which have long since been turned over to the communities to be operated out of public funds. A recent study of the southern mountains by the Institute of Social and Religious Research[1] listed one hundred and fifty schools broadly classified as missionary (although many of them are not supported by the mission boards) that were known to have been in existence in 1929 or later. Of these, outside support has since been with-

[1] *Religion in the Highlands,* by Elizabeth R. Hooker. Home Missions Council, 1933.

drawn from twenty-two. Several became private institutions. A few were discontinued. Others were relinquished to the full control of the local public school system. In many there have been marked changes in the character or scope of the work offered. Some relinquished a part of the program of elementary or secondary instruction to the public school system while retaining other educational functions. A few have withdrawn from the academic field entirely and turned their attention to providing a home in which children, with no educational advantages in their own communities, may live while attending the public school.

Among the schools still maintained by mission agencies are representatives of a wide variety of types. In the Cumberland Mountains in northern Tennessee are the following among other schools: Cumberland Mountain School at Crossville; Pleasant Hill Academy; Baxter Seminary; Livingston Academy; Alpine Institute; and Mossop School for Girls at Harriman. The first three named are, in the main, designed to provide both general and practical education for the young people of this region. Their high school offerings include agriculture, home economics, and commercial work as well as college preparatory courses. Each of them affirms a definite religious purpose, though without sectarian bias, and recognizes the responsibility of developing Christian leadership on the part of their students. Cumberland Mountain School, particularly, emphasizes

the participation of the students in the work of the school farm, the kitchen, dairy, carpentry shop, and printing press, as a means of earning a major part of their expenses. Livingston Academy and Alpine Institute are illustrations of institutions operated in close relationship to and as a part of the public school system. Mossop School is a non-standard junior high school. It is exclusively a boarding school, each pupil being selected because there is no opportunity in her home community to secure more than a sixth-grade education. The entire emphasis of the school is on providing a type of training that will be useful in the communities from which its pupils are drawn.

Alvan Drew School in Wolfe County, Kentucky, is a combination day and boarding school providing the upper four elementary grades and a four-year accredited high school. The courses include college preparatory, business and commercial, and teacher training. The school conducts industries of various sorts and has a farm of about one hundred acres. The Rabun Gap-Nacoochee School in Georgia is an accredited high school with a sub-freshman class for students entering with deficient preparation. The school has a large tract of land, a part of which is divided into small farms on which families are encouraged to settle during the period when their children are attending the mission school.

Of the many experiments in the field of industrial education to adapt an educational program to

the peculiar circumstances of the mountains, two of the most significant are the John C. Campbell Folk School at Brasstown, North Carolina, and the Asheville Farm School at Swannanoa, North Carolina. Of these two schools, Dr. Fannie Dunn, of Teachers College, Columbia University, educational consultant for the southern mountain survey, writes:

Both of these have dared to throw off the formal body of materials, developed in relation to the educational philosophy and psychology and to the differently selected student body of an earlier day, and have attempted to find means and methods of education appropriate to the students they serve and to the needs and conditions of life today. Folk School finds these materials in the economic and social life of the community and in the school family; in the creation of beauty by means of mountain crafts, and in the experience of beauty by living in the midst of it; in song and literature and history that interpret the present lives of the learners; and in such training in the tools of reading, numbers, and language as are required for day-by-day needs. It has in the past given more effort to upbuilding the local community than to instruction of its students, but this has been done because only through experience in a developing community can young men and women learn to be constructive members of such a community. Folk School casts aside the demands of college-entrance requirements. It refuses to undertake this function, referring prospective students who desire it to the many public schools which make it their chief aim.

Asheville Farm School has not yet broken with accreditization, since, so far, it has received accreditization for its experimental program. Its educative materials consist of all the productive occupations which can be carried on in its present plant, including dairying, crop raising, orchard culture, canning, farm mechanics, landscape architecture, house

building, plumbing, electrical wiring, printing, automobile mechanics, housework in the dormitory and the hospital; and also any academic or cultural training the student feels the need of, from practical computation and English usage, to French and etiquette. The method is chiefly activity guided by individual instruction.[1]

Other Mission Areas

The mission school plays an equally important part in the work among the Spanish-American population of northern New Mexico. Schools were among the earliest mission enterprises in this area. Here as elsewhere many schools formerly maintained have been relinquished as public schools have developed. One denomination, for example, which at various times during the past sixty years has conducted educational work at sixty-four different points in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado, now maintains schools at only eight points. The justification of the continuance of any educational work in this comparatively isolated rural area rests on several distinct grounds. The first is the fact that there is still a high proportion of illiteracy in this section. New Mexico in 1930, with an illiteracy rate of 13.3 per cent, was third from the last in the list of all states in this particular. Nine counties in the state had an illiteracy rate of over 15 per cent. Second, public schools are still very poor in many of the smaller communities. In some communities the only schools available are in effect, if not nominally,

[1] *Religion in the Highlands*, p. 275.

Roman Catholic parochial schools. Third, the mission agencies feel keenly the need for secondary schools to offer, under evangelical auspices, an adequate training for leadership.

Four important boarding schools are now maintained in this region by three denominations. Two others have recently been closed. These four are the Harwood Girls' School in Albuquerque, a junior-senior high school; the Menaul School in Albuquerque, formerly a boys' school and now a coeducational senior high school; the Allison James School in Santa Fé, formerly a girls' school and now a coeducational junior high school; and the Edith McCurdy Mission School at Santa Cruz, a coeducational junior-senior high school. Eight community day schools are maintained by two denominations, all in isolated mountain communities. A denominational college at Las Vegas, closed several years ago, has recently been reopened.

The boarding schools provide a standard college preparatory course supplemented with courses in industrial and domestic arts, in religious education, and in health and hygiene. The day schools, all of which are elementary in grade, are community-serving institutions supplementing the conventional classroom work with a wide variety of practical activities.

In both Cuba and Puerto Rico education has been emphasized. Institutions of every grade from elementary school to college are maintained. In Cuba, the inadequate school system and the universal de-

sire for educational advantages have led all the church boards doing work in the island to enter the school field. They conduct primary and secondary schools in most of the larger cities. In addition there are three outstanding Protestant colleges, one supported by the Baptists in Santiago, the second by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Havana, and the third by the Presbyterians in Cardenas. These institutions, which are doing work that would be accepted in the States as on the junior college level, have all maintained a very high standard. Their faculties are now principally composed of nationals. In Puerto Rico the public school system has been more generally developed throughout the island, so that the mission boards have been enabled to diminish their educational programs. Two important institutions here are the Blanche Kellogg Institute, a boarding high school for girls in San Juan, and the Polytechnic Institute, a liberal arts college at San Germán.

Specialized Programs

To a limited extent the mission boards have entered the field of professional service as the needs of their programs required. In Puerto Rico, for example, the Union Evangelical Seminary is supported by the denominations represented in the Association of Churches of that island. It prepares ministers for all the cooperating denominations, a number of which had, previous to its founding, maintained sep-

arate denominational seminaries. As the general educational facilities of the island have been improved it has been possible for the seminary gradually to raise its entrance requirements until today most of the students who enter have already received an A.B. degree from the University of Puerto Rico. The work of the seminary has been of incalculable value in furnishing to each of the cooperating denominations a well-trained leadership upon which it can rely to carry forward the work of the church in the island.

Puerto Rico also furnishes excellent illustrations of professional training of another sort. Nurses' training schools are conducted in connection with the Presbyterian Hospital at San Juan and the Ryder Memorial Hospital under Congregational auspices at Humacao. When these schools were first organized Puerto Rico was almost without competently trained nurses. During the first few years it was necessary to admit girls who had had only a fourth- or fifth-grade education. Now all candidates are required to have a high school diploma and many enter with the A.B. degree.

Among the Negro populations of the southern states and in the highlands, mission schools have developed into standard colleges, theological seminaries, or normal training institutions. Some of these continue to have the financial support of the mission boards, while in other instances support has been

relinquished to independent boards of trustees or to other agencies.

An interesting example of a specialized educational program is the cooperative work of religious education in government schools for Indians. This work was undertaken in 1920 in the belief that the presence of about thirty thousand Indian boys and girls in the government boarding schools offered the churches an opportunity for a unified program of religious education, the influence of which would be felt throughout the entire Indian population. The plan for an interdenominational approach to these schools was developed in accord with the expressed wishes of the Federal Indian Bureau. Fourteen denominations are now cooperating, through the Joint Committee for Indian Work of the Home Missions Councils, in the support of religious work directors serving eight non-reservation government Indian schools. Denominational representatives carry on a similar program in various government schools on reservations.

MEDICAL SERVICE

Medical service has had a place in the home missions program for over one hundred years but has not been as extensively developed as educational service. The direct importance of the school in the task of evangelizing a pioneer community or any retarded and largely illiterate group was clearly apparent. The need for an educated leadership was

obvious. The importance of good health was recognized also, but there has never been the same sense of public responsibility for the prevention and the cure of disease as for the provision of educational facilities.

Medical missions, to an even greater degree than educational service, grew inevitably out of recognized needs. Some of the earliest missionary physicians apparently were recruited not because they were physicians, but because they were consecrated Christians who volunteered for missionary service. They happened to be physicians also and the conditions on their fields of labor made an inescapable demand upon them for the use of their medical knowledge. Many years, however, had passed before mission boards generally accepted the idea of medical service as an essential part of their responsibility. The growth of such service to its present degree of importance came about, like many other advances in the field of practical service, largely through the organized interest of women, who accepted medical service along with educational service as their special province. This development has been retarded by the technical difficulties involved and by the fact that it is, in general, the most expensive type of mission service. Its requirements, both of personnel and of equipment, are exacting and there is less justification than in some other fields for any compromise of standards in the interests of economy or convenience.

The agencies associated with the Home Missions Councils maintain, at some sixty centers, ninety-five projects of medical service, with three hundred and ninety-three doctors and nurses. These projects range from a standard grade-A fully accredited hospital of over one hundred beds to a one- or two-bed emergency ward connected with a rural health unit. Clinic and dispensary work varies, from that maintained by a large hospital with equipment and staff for out-patient service, handling from thirty to forty thousand patients a year, to the simple facilities of a missionary's cottage where a visiting physician may examine patients brought in from the countryside and where simple remedies may be dispensed. The larger hospitals make nurses' training an important part of their work. The public health nurse is often an important adjunct of the neighborhood center or of a boarding school, visiting in homes, arranging for clinics or examinations, giving health instruction, and caring for emergency cases.

Such projects are for the most part limited to the more retarded areas or to the service of populations most likely to be inadequately served by other existing agencies. Nearly one third of all the doctors and nurses employed by the mission boards serve in the West Indies or in Alaska. In continental United States the most important medical projects are in the southern mountains and among the Indians, the Spanish-speaking population of the Southwest, and the Negroes. Urban community centers for immi-

grant populations generally include some health work.

In the newer developments in this field the tendency is rather away from the large hospital with an elaborate program, necessitating as it does expensive equipment and heavy maintenance cost, to the smaller health unit in a community having no other provision for medical service. The few larger institutions have opportunity for a needed extension service. In all projects, both large and small, the constant effort is to broaden the program of service and to include preventive, educational and general welfare features, in cooperation with all related public agencies.

The missionary significance of the hospital or health center, if not so obvious as in the case of the school, is none the less definite and real. In the nature of the case medical service cannot and should not be regarded as merely a means to an evangelistic end. Both practical limitations and considerations of good taste are involved. The service of the hospital is important enough and surely is sufficiently in accord with the spirit of Christ to be valued for itself and to justify its place in the missionary program quite apart from any attendant evangelistic results. Nevertheless, the relationship of medical work to every other aspect of the missionary program may, with entire propriety, be constantly stressed. Its workers combine with their professional competence positive Christian character and a true missionary

motive. The spirit of the hospital should always be thoroughly evangelical, evidenced in such ways that all who come in contact with it may know that its service is one rendered in the name of Christ. Actually, where medical service has been wisely administered, its contribution to the total missionary program has been unmistakable.

In the West Indies

One of the most fruitful fields for the development of medical missions is the West Indies. In Puerto Rico there are three excellent mission hospitals that have been invaluable not only for the care of the sick, but for the general improvement of health conditions and of medical service throughout the island. These are the two hospitals at Humacao and San Juan, under Congregational and Presbyterian auspices, respectively, and St. Luke's Hospital, under the Protestant Episcopal Church, in Ponce. Each of these has a high standing and has won a place of large influence in its own section of the island. The Presbyterian Hospital has achieved a standard grade-A rating, being one of only three hospitals so rated in all Latin America. It is affiliated with the School of Tropical Medicine of Columbia University, located in San Juan, and has cooperated with the Rockefeller Foundation in an intensive study of the tropical anemias which so sap the vitality of the majority of Puerto Ricans. In the Dominican Republic a sixty-bed hospital with

modern equipment is maintained in the city of Santo Domingo as a part of the united missionary program of the Board for Christian Work in Santo Domingo. This hospital is manned by two Dominican surgeons and a nursing force of whom all but two are nationals. A nurses' training course is provided.

Strangely enough, there is no medical or hospital work under the direction of the Protestant churches in the island of Cuba. Outside of Havana, hospital facilities are exceedingly meager. Church conferences have repeatedly urged the need for a united program of medical work in Cuba. There is no Protestant training school for nurses and no institution for the treatment of tuberculosis or special tropical diseases. Several years ago two young Cuban physicians, products of the Evangelical church, made a desperate effort to establish what they called a "Clínica Evangélica." Though there was a great demand for it and their services were sought everywhere, the lack of funds to secure a building and carry on the hospital until it could become self-supporting compelled them to abandon their project.

Other Areas

In Alaska the work of medical missions has been practically confined to the Eskimos, for whom a notable service has been performed at great cost and under conditions of great difficulty. The outstanding instances are the Methodist Episcopal Hospital at Nome and the Presbyterian Hospital at

Point Barrow, the latter being the northernmost mission hospital in the world. In southeastern Alaska, the federal government has largely carried the responsibility for the health program among the Indians.

Among the Indians in continental United States medical work has had a place in the mission program for over one hundred years. Increasingly, however, the federal government has expanded its medical service for Indians and thus has relieved the mission agencies of a large measure of responsibility. All studies of Indian welfare indicate need for an intensified and improved medical service in view of the prevalence of such diseases as tuberculosis, trachoma, and ailments due to low vitality, faulty diet, and lack of proper sanitation in homes. There are a number of outstanding instances of medical missionary service; for example, the hospital at Ganado, Arizona, on the Navajo reservation. This is a hospital of seventy-five beds, staffed with three physicians and seven other workers. The hospital record in 1933 showed approximately nine hundred hospital patients, fourteen thousand dispensary patients, and five hundred out-patients. There is a nurses' training school, having last year an enrolment of twelve, which graduated its first class in the fall of 1933. Community and public health nursing and general health education are a regular part of the service rendered.

One other illustration of medical missions may

be drawn from the Spanish-American field, where a small mission hospital is maintained at Dixon, New Mexico. The need for medical service in this extensive area may be inferred from the fact that in all New Mexico, in spite of the comparative poverty of much of its population, there is no free hospital and only two or three of the existing hospitals are in a position to do a very limited amount of free work. In an extended mountain area, stretching northward from Albuquerque, there is no hospital of any sort other than this mission enterprise at Dixon. This small hospital, with a doctor and three nurses, can accommodate thirteen patients. Its limited equipment and staff restrict the service that can be rendered. A recent year's record showed 226 hospital patients, 1,222 dispensary patients, and 496 outpatients. Clinics are regularly held at three different points. Health instruction in near-by mission schools, home and community nursing, and medical examinations are emphasized.

COMMUNITY SERVICE

The term "community service" connotes many sorts of activities and institutions. The larger community centers, particularly those of the settlement house type in cities, have achieved a certain standardization of program, but even these vary widely according to conditions. The smaller rural center must be informal and experimental in its approach. Social agencies and welfare programs are unevenly

distributed in rural areas and are often entirely absent, though much progress has been made during the past decade. Individual centers differ greatly in equipment and staff. A limited number are highly developed institutions with substantial buildings and well organized staffs of both full-time and volunteer workers. In some the available equipment is limited to the worker's home, or perhaps a community room added to the manse or church building. A small center may have only a single worker or there may be a number with duties somewhat differentiated. A health center, a day school, or a church may be the point from which radiates a wide range of community service activities, with or without a special worker for this purpose. Under favorable circumstances the mission school and church may be regarded as the most fruitful agencies of community service that we have. Some of the larger schools and churches have incorporated in their programs rather elaborate provision for community activities.

The agencies associated with the Home Missions Councils maintain altogether 533 separate centers of community work with 1,240 workers. This does not take into account community work in connection with schools or churches unless separate personnel is employed. It is often important to maintain a community center where there is neither church nor school. In other instances a more specialized and detailed program of service is required than the

average church or school is prepared to perform. In the distribution of these 533 community centers the largest number are found in cities or elsewhere among foreign-language groups, including the Spanish speaking and the Orientals. The next largest number are in the southern mountains and Indian fields.

During the past thirty years there has been a special development of the neighborhood house among immigrant populations, as a means of assisting them in their difficult adjustment to new conditions. Many of the larger neighborhood houses developed from very simple beginnings. They resemble the social settlements in the variety and practical value of their approaches to their field, but they are much more definitely and avowedly religious. A well-organized center will have clubs, classes and other specific group activities for all ages and both sexes and covering a wide range of interests, as, for example, recreation, social life, dramatics, language study, industrial and domestic arts, vocational training and guidance, health and physical education, religious education and worship. During the past few years many such centers rendered invaluable service in the distribution of relief and in other emergency projects.

Among the Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest there is to be found an interesting variation of the neighborhood house program in centers that are termed, by one denomination, Homes of Neighborly

Service. These are not all one pattern, but they are, in general, less formalized than are the larger institutions of the social settlement type. In the smaller communities a simple cottage is secured, made as attractive as possible, and arranged to provide living rooms for the workers and a community room for classes and clubs. In the larger centers a more extensive equipment may be required. The program of work usually includes organized group activities for all ages, instruction for mothers in child care and home making, personal visitation in the homes and definite projects in religious education.

In the southern mountains and in the Indian field there are a number of similar projects. Many of these have done interesting and valuable work in the revival of native crafts and the stimulation of home industries. They cooperate with near-by churches in evangelistic activities and religious education, and with medical centers in health education and clinical work. Their range of possible activities is as extended and varied as any catalogue of community needs could be.

One of the most intensive developments of community work is among the Chinese of the San Francisco Bay region. The denominations principally interested are the Methodist Episcopal, Baptist and Presbyterian. Hostels are provided for boys and for girls attending the public school, and there are kindergartens, a day school and a language school in which all agencies cooperate, homes for young

women and many related activities. The work of rescue of Chinese girls from slavery has been a unique and thrilling type of missionary service, associated for many years with the name of Miss Donaldina Cameron.

The general tendency now is away from the establishment of detached community centers and toward the inclusion of community service activities in the programs of mission schools, hospitals and churches. There are very few communities in which some form of community service is not urgently needed and few in which the employment of a specially trained community work is not amply justified. In all instances community work needs to be conducted in close cooperation with existing welfare agencies of the state or county.

IX

CAN CHRISTIANS COOPERATE?

EXPLANATIONS after the event are easier and more likely to be accurate than are prophesies before it. So it is easier, from the vantage point of the present, to explain the divisive tendencies in home missions than it would have been for those who shaped its program to foresee the effects of such divisions, or how they would come to be regarded. So much is obvious. Yet, if we judge pioneer history from the viewpoint of modern standards, we are likely seriously to misinterpret the significance of what actually happened in home missions.

We have shown that the primary evangelistic motive of home missions early found expression in a number of distinct purposes, not always consistent, but on the whole not contradictory to each other. Chief among these were, first, the purpose to extend and build up the organization of the church, and, second, the purpose to minister to various aspects of human need. The first of these purposes embodied itself chiefly in a program of denominational church extension. The nature of this program reflected the prevailing attitudes of the denominations as a whole and the general spirit of the times. It was not selfish or narrow by specific intent. But many

things that seemed to the churches of that day to matter tremendously seem of secondary importance now. Standards of church work were simple enough to make competition tolerable, while sectarian zeal made it inevitable. Moreover, the pioneer philosophy was in its every aspect individualistic and competitive, in religion as in other matters. Humility was not a frontier virtue. "The meek shall inherit the earth" was not written of those who settled the frontier.

The ministry of practical service, being a response to immediate need rather than a deliberate plan, was not, at first, developed under any carefully matured plan of coordination. It established institutions which frequently came to be more or less in competition, or at least out of alignment, with each other or with similar institutions outside the church. Any American community, even today, will furnish illustrations of the same sort of tendency, quite outside the organizations of religion. Social progress and community organization at every point are confronted by the problem of how best to correlate and reconcile within some inclusive plan the separate activities of agencies and institutions of like purport. It is a deep-rooted desire of Americans to provide opportunity, in every field of interest, for a free choice of alternatives. This is complicating, but very natural.

To describe this tendency as a deliberate conflict between selfishness and unselfishness, between

competition and cooperation, is to misapprehend it entirely. Unselfishness and cooperation will always win assent in principle, and with sincerity, even when our practice is otherwise. It is rather a problem of broadening our range of vision and of adapting to modern needs and to the modern temper the institutions and methods wrought out by generous motives to meet the necessitous demands of an earlier and more primitive day. Within the sphere of home missions, many of the logical, the inevitable moves of yesterday have had results which today seem to some to discredit the witness of the church and to undermine its influence.

For many years the implications of this problem have been seen with increasing clearness. The remedial steps already taken are numerous and of great significance, growing out of the new concern for the solidarity of the Christian cause and the keener sense of social responsibility which characterize the present times. A counter-process is well under way of which integration, interdependence and cooperation are the key words. Very many churches have been dissolved or merged by official action; in addition to these literally thousands have virtually ceased to function because of the pressure of adverse circumstances. Local cooperative movements have sprung up spontaneously in hundreds of communities or have been jointly promoted by mission agencies; and principles of comity and of cooperative procedure have been adopted. Many different

interdenominational agencies, local, regional and national, have come into active functioning. There is everywhere manifested a growing desire for a closer cooperation in every aspect of home mission work, both within the program itself and between denominations. Of these various developments a further word will be said later.

PRACTICAL PROBLEMS

Out of this situation four practical problems emerge for home missions as it undertakes today to pioneer in cooperation and unity.

The first of these concerns the development on the mission field of a thorough coordination of the different aspects of the mission program. In government, the question of the proper relationship that should exist between departments and bureaus is a perennial one. Instances of duplicated responsibility and of conflicting policies are numerous, although in theory everyone recognizes the desirability of avoiding both. Government, while professing a desire for simplicity and unity, has become in our time an immensely complex process. With all the famed efficiency of the American business man, the same tendency may be noted in business organizations. Even a casual study of the agencies operating in the fields of social welfare and civic betterment, education and public health, recreation and social life, municipal planning and community organization, indeed, in the fields of any of our collective inter-

ests, will reveal a wastefully complicating lack of coordination. This is true even among agencies which have themselves been created to deal with this very problem.

The results of such a situation, always confusing, are especially so on the average mission field where proximity makes cooperation the price of efficiency. Every mission institution, however specialized, tends to broaden its range of interests to include, in part at least, those of every other type of institution. Schools and hospitals become centers of religious instruction, of evangelistic activity, and of programs of missionary extension. Community stations add educational, medical and evangelistic features. Churches undertake programs of community service, of youth leadership and adult education. Where different national organizations control the destinies of projects within the same local area, as is sometimes the case, it is easy to see how waste motion and lessened efficiency may result. In such situations institutional prestige is of no importance. The welfare of the mission field is of supreme importance. This is the initial point at which the desire for cooperation and unity may well express itself and it is a source of satisfaction that substantial progress is being made.

Closely related to this first problem and growing out of exactly the same sort of circumstances is a second problem, that of cooperation between mission agencies and non-mission agencies on the mis-

sion field. We have commented on the rapidly widening sphere of public welfare activities, on the great growth of the public school system, and on the manifold ways in which privately organized or individual philanthropy has expressed itself. This is well illustrated by the situation among the Indians or in the southern mountains, which have long had a romantic appeal to the missionary and philanthropic interests of our people. While the need of missionary activity is not materially less than it was as a result of the recent expansion of federal activities in these fields, the need of coordinating such activity with that of all the other interested agencies is increasingly vital.

In the Indian field, particularly, all mission activities must be planned and conducted in full recognition of the guardianship exercised by the federal government over the Indians and of its very extensive service operations on their behalf. Not only must there not be any working at cross purposes between missionaries and government representatives, but the missionary program must be carefully coordinated with all related government programs, in education, hospitalization, and general health and welfare service. This is the most obvious example, but other fields of work present somewhat analogous problems.

Somewhat different in significance is the third problem. This concerns the relationship between the formal agencies of home missions and the church

as a whole. Denominations differ greatly in the degree of their theoretical centralization. They differ very little in the fact that all of them, in their home mission work, exhibit a strong tendency toward decentralization and local initiative. This is very similar to the contrasting governmental tendencies toward centralization on the one hand and local self-government on the other. There are obvious values in each tendency. Whether in government or in missions we need both the sense of local responsibility and initiative and the broader national viewpoint and inclusive planning. No problem can be regarded as of local significance only, and none as of national significance only. A proper balance and perspective are needed which, while developing to the full the sense of local responsibility, will enable each denomination to mobilize its full resources and direct them to the service of the areas of greatest need. That, it would seem, is a truly Christian as well as a truly democratic principle.

A broad view of the needs of the whole church will discern, too, that the distinctions between the various national agencies of the churches can easily be insisted upon too rigidly. Women's boards and general boards, religious education societies and missionary societies, and organizations distinguished in a variety of other ways have actually very much in common. The distinction between their respective fields is often one of convenience only, and sometimes not even of that. It is debatable whether the

actual consolidation of such agencies always makes for efficiency. But that careful coordination and common planning are of great importance is not debatable.

As concerns the relationship of home missions to the individual congregation one thing, at least, needs to be said. In the history of home missions strong individual congregations have often been the most potent of missionary agencies. Some of them still are, though the very growth of the church has made it natural that more and more individual congregations should exercise their missionary zeal in the support of official mission agencies. On the whole this is both necessary and wise. But it is neither necessary nor wise that in this process a church should relieve itself of all sense of responsibility for the needs of its own parish outside its particular constituency. No one can doubt that this has frequently happened and with the result that mission boards have been put to the necessity of trying to reach, through special activities, people who should be regarded as the legitimate concern of established churches.

Most important and difficult of all is the fourth problem, which concerns the relationship between denominations in home missions work. There is in the church at large, as well as in the mission boards, an increasing awareness of the significance of this question. This growing interest proceeds, in part, from practical considerations. The challenge and

opportunity of this present day require, at every point, higher standards of personnel, equipment and program. A new strategy is needed in place of the competitive opportunism of the past. There is a growing impatience with the futility and waste that all too frequently characterize existing methods of church maintenance. But these practical considerations are not more weighty than the spiritual ones. The church is increasingly concerned with the question of its spiritual unity and anxious to put into the background the minor issues that have divided us and to thrust into the foreground the major issues on which we can unite. Two kinds of forces, then, are steadily working to bring the churches together in comity and cooperation. One springs from the outward circumstances that confront the churches; the other rises from the inner experiences and clearing vision of the churches themselves.

PROGRESS IN INTERDENOMINATIONAL COOPERATION

There are many evidences of progress in the development of interdenominational cooperation, even though, as is noted in *Home Missions Today and Tomorrow*, "the present stage is one in which the need for comity is recognized more generally than its virtues are practised."

Of first importance is the growth of that very desire for cooperation to which we have just referred. But there is something back of that. It is clear that we are dependent upon the existence of

mutual trust, respect and good will and of mutual confidence in our common objectives and standards. Comity is never likely to be permanently successful on any basis less lofty than the basis of the highest Christian ideals. It must be essentially unselfish. Comity with an economic motive or for a *quid pro quo* ultimately defeats its own ends. Competition thrives on unworthy ideals of religious work and low opinions of Christian bodies other than our own. Genuine progress has been made in providing a basis for cooperation in common ideals and mutual understanding. To a certain extent, as we have noted, it has been possible to express such ideals and understandings in more or less formal agreements and in generally accepted definitions of comity. Cooperation is a spirit and as such cannot be reduced to an exact formula. Nevertheless, to agree on what constitutes competition or comity is a useful first step. The formulation of generally accepted principles has served a practical purpose in dealing with situations in which there is actual competition, and in attempting to control the initiation of new work on a basis that will prevent competition. To be sure, it is easier to deal with the theory than with the practice of comity; easier to prevent competition in new situations than to cure it in old ones; easier to deal with exceptional than with normal situations—all of which is another way of saying that it is easier to solve someone else's problems than our own.

In the second place, substantial progress has been

made in the creation of organizations through which the desire for cooperation and comity may find practical expression. On the national level we have such important bodies as the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the Home Missions Council, the Council of Women for Home Missions, and the International Council of Religious Education, which are working together in increasing intimacy. Other national organizations, such as the Missionary Education Movement, are rendering valuable service in particular fields. There are in addition regional organizations like the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, the Council of Spanish-speaking Work, and the Southern Mountain Workers' Conference. Supplementing all these bodies and bringing them down closer to the local community is an impressive list of state and city organizations which are gradually establishing themselves as the agencies through which the various denominations may unitedly approach the solution of common problems and the performance of common tasks. The most recent developments in this field are bringing together, in a new *rapprochement*, state councils of churches—or state home missions councils—and state councils of religious education. Ultimately we must move toward the establishment, in every state and major city, of a unified interdenominational organization through which comity and cooperative programs can function. Up to this time such movements have not progressed to the

point where they involve any essential weakening of denominational lines, or any essential yielding of denominational prerogatives. They are chiefly effective in relation to what might be termed the marginal interests of the churches. But they are without doubt a long stride on the way toward that larger integration of thought and feeling and activity which is so greatly to be desired.

In the third place, there has been a real development of procedure for dealing with competitive situations in which mission aid is involved. Various national church bodies have adopted resolutions in almost identical language which look to the elimination of home missions aid as a factor in the maintenance of competitive churches. The mission boards of five of the larger denominations have compiled a joint list of all their aided churches to determine exactly where competition is present. They will jointly seek an impartial, interdenominational review of all fields on the list in which there appears to be competition. From the facts thus ascertained they will advise as to procedure. After a date agreed upon, further financial aid will be contingent upon the results of this review. Admittedly, the most hopeful approach is not one that isolates the sore thumbs for separate inspection, but rather one that involves long-term, comprehensive planning, on a cooperative basis, in the process of which a difficult case may be seen in the perspective of a wider setting. Such a procedure is flexible and is adapted to the use

of any two or more denominations that are prepared to use it. It is unfortunately true that the task of those groups that are ready to cooperate is made more difficult by those other groups that are not ready. It is also true that competition is by no means exclusively an interdenominational problem. It has as well an important intradenominational aspect. Furthermore, it cannot be assumed that the wisest of procedures will bring cooperation into full flower over night. The principle of self-determination still runs strong in American religious life. Cooperation must be prepared for and built up to, step by step. In the more distinctively mission areas, it may be added, there has been comparatively little actual competition. Principles of allocation and of "gentlemen's agreements" have quite generally been observed.

In the fourth place, there has been an encouraging development of cooperative field projects. In many exceptional situations mission programs are being carried forward jointly, either through the Home Missions Councils or by the direct cooperation of interested boards. Outstanding examples of such projects are the cooperative program of work among migrants, the support of religious work directors in government Indian schools, the joint program on the Christian approach to the Jews, and the united program at Boulder Dam, Nevada. Mission work in the Dominican Republic supplies a unique example of missionary cooperation. The West In-

dies, as a matter of fact, has been a proving ground for different types of interdenominational relationships. Puerto Rico was entered under definite agreements assigning to each of the cooperating denominations a definite zone of influence, various joint projects being developed for the service of all. In Cuba, without any definite zoning arrangements, each denomination more or less concentrated its work and kept it free from competition. Haiti is an instance of an allocated territory. In the Dominican Republic, however, three denominations decided to pool their interests and organized the Board for Christian Work in Santo Domingo, representing the cooperation of boards of the Presbyterian, Methodist Episcopal, and United Brethren denominations. None of these denominational names is used in the work and the church of the Republic is in every sense a united Evangelical church. These different projects are both developing a technique of cooperative work and increasing the desire for a joint approach to many other similar situations.

Finally, very great progress has been made in the development of unity in local churches. It is, after all, in the realm of local church life that the principles of comity and cooperation are most severely tested. It is here that there is the greatest need for cooperation, and it is also here that we find the most numerous examples of such cooperation. Not the least important consideration is the fact that in thousands of communities there has

never been any division of the local religious forces. Increasingly, as new communities develop, we may feel assured that the religious life from the outset will be unified in a single church enterprise. For the very many other communities which have been less fortunate in their religious history many devices have been resorted to for unifying the divided forces. Among these are the federated church, of which over six hundred are known to exist, and the interdenominational Larger Parish, which is being increasingly relied upon to solve this problem in rural areas.

These various lines of progress already made show clearly the paths along which the home mission boards and the church at large should proceed. We are persuaded that the churches have never faced more momentous human needs than today. The most hopeful sign of our times, so far as the church is concerned, is the evident approach to a clear and common vision of our common task. Uncontrolled individualism in the church, as everywhere else, is in the end self-defeating. Organizations, no less than individuals, must learn the lesson that they cannot live to themselves alone. That lesson the home mission agencies are learning, and as they learn it they are more fully preparing themselves to pioneer courageously in the field of practical Christian cooperation and essential Christian unity.

X

THE PROMISE AND ITS FULFILMENT

HOME missions has a place in the life of the church in addition to its responsibility for a program of evangelization and service adapted to the needs of the mission field. It is important to keep before the church the Christian significance of the underlying problems that create the need for that program. Home missions has fundamental implications for the point of view of the whole church and for the controlling attitudes of individual congregations and individual Christians. To make those implications clear is home mission's task of interpretation.

Does it seem strange to say that one of the most important results of the missionary program of the church is to keep alive in the church the desire to be a missionary organization? There is always the danger that a church may come to think of itself more highly than it ought. There is no reason to suppose that a church is any freer from the dangers of organizational rigidity and pride than is any other form of human society. There are not lacking instances to show that narrow sectarianism or selfish complacency may rob the church of much of its spiritual power by focusing its attention upon itself.

Does the church exist merely that it may build itself up? To say so would be to argue in a circle. We know that it does not. Is every Christian church, irrespective of its purpose and outlook and the quality of its religious faith and the direction and potency of its influence, as good as every other? To say so would be to argue that the value of the church is *per se* rather than in the degree to which it reflects the spirit and purpose of its Master.

It seems to us, therefore, that the effort to build up the church as an organization needs always to be supplemented by the purpose to use the church as an instrument of service outside of itself for the larger purposes of the kingdom. If home missions were merely denominational extension, it might have great practical utility; it would hardly have great spiritual significance. But it is more than that. It has always been more, much more, than that. Even in its narrowest aspects the mold of a selfish sectarianism has never been able to hold all its substance. It has been the expression of a desire to equalize religious privilege, a desire to share a religious faith and fellowship, a desire to share a Christian fulness of life, a desire to assure for all others the best that we ourselves have in life. To the degree that such attitudes have motivated home missions, the missionary purpose and program have made the church a more truly Christian, more vitally spiritual organization.

Such attitudes have an importance for every phase

of life. The principle of mutual sharing, "each for all and all for each," is an essential condition of collective living in a Christian democracy. We have alluded to the many ways in which this principle finds expression in our national life. Are we not justified in assuming that the unselfish missionary spirit in the church has had much to do with developing this spirit of brotherhood in the nation at large? And is it not a part of our duty and function as a church to develop it still further? And is it not, then, an important function of home missions today to interpret to the church and to the nation the glaring inequalities that still exist and the high privilege that is ours of seeking to remove them?

What part has the church to play in the total task of human progress? The question does not admit of an exact answer. We know that in social progress of any sort the basic problem is spiritual. The first great need is a motive. It is not a lack of technical skill and material resources but a lack of will, an inability to arouse and discipline our spirits, a lack of impelling motive that bar the way to Christian social progress. Abstract principles of justice must be tested in the intimate personal relations of man to man, of neighbor to neighbor, of group to group. When Christian people assent to the erection, across the path of national advancement, of barriers of race, color, poverty or social inferiority, then is the realization of the Christian ideal thwarted by the things that Christians tolerate. Furthermore, so long

as our ultimate goal is not material but spiritual, the responsibility for human well-being will not be exhausted by the fullest possible expansion of public activity. Both the first and the last word must be claimed by the religious forces: the first word, because the very root of our concern for human welfare is in that impulse to share which is born of Christian conviction; the last word, because the preservation of the highest social justice is not finally to be guaranteed by the law of man, but by the law of God, that is, by love of man that is akin to love of God.

HOME MISSIONS AND NATIONAL UNITY

There has never been in America, strictly speaking, an established church, or any general desire for one. Certain of the early colonies and settlements had what was in effect an established church. If the dominant church in each of the colonies had been of the same faith, this might have paved the way for a national established church when, later, the colonies came to some sort of political unity. But the diversity of religious experience and tradition in the colonies prevented this. As a matter of fact, the whole established church idea, even as applied to a single community, never was able to stand transplanting. As the population moved westward, many strains were intermingled. Not for long did any single religious tradition dominate any very extensive area west of the seaboard. The Mormon empire estab-

lished in the heart of the Rockies during the forties of the last century is the one striking exception in our history. In general, the individualism of the frontier, when it was interested in religion at all, insisted upon religious freedom and lent itself to an intense sectarianism in which was no place for the idea of religious solidarity.

As the major denominations developed, each fostered a loyalty to its own particular fellowship. The conviction was general that the church must be completely free from any outside control, and in many cases this was interpreted to mean that the local congregation must be free even from any outside ecclesiastical control. By a similar token it was generally held that the state must be free from any form of ecclesiastical dictation. Nevertheless, most denominations conceived of themselves as national bodies and used every effort to make their denominational boundaries coterminous with the nation. Some, from force of circumstances, became sectional in fact and a few in theory as well. Not many actually achieved a nationwide distribution. But the desire and the purpose were there. This was clearly manifested in the development of home missions as the larger denominations extended their missionary programs to include every part of our national territory.

Doubtless a variety of motives have operated at different times to nourish missionary enthusiasm in the church. That some of these should have lost

potency is not strange. But among the motives that have endured has been the conviction that no nation can achieve permanence and worth that is builded other than on the sure foundation of the righteousness which is of God. Home missions expresses this conviction on a nationwide scale as the individual church expresses it in the local community. It enables the church to function where a local constituency is lacking or is, to a degree, impotent, and also enables the church to bring the forces of religion to bear upon all those problems that are of more than local concern. Thus home missions represents the effort of the church to undergird the nation with those forces of personal and social righteousness that the Christian religion generates and supports. In this its significance is seen as an influence working in many ways for the achievement of national unity and against every form of sectionalism and parochial narrowness.

First, through all the years of the rapid expansion of settlement, missionary service was one of the strongest ties binding the old and the new together. How often did the new settlements feel, and with some justice, that the older sections misunderstood, undervalued and neglected them! More than once it was a missionary, like Marcus Whitman, who pleaded the cause of the frontier before governor or president. Aside from such services in times of crisis, the missionary expressed concretely the interest of the old settlements that supported him in the

new, and then in turn interpreted the new to the old. Thus were mutual sympathy and understanding generated. No spiritual force operating in the nineteenth century was strong enough to prevent the development of an intense sectionalism, which still is a powerful factor in our current life. But these national programs of missionary effort have been and still are a force binding the extremes of our country together and so making for national unity.

Second, democracy affirms but does not always practise the doctrine that the strong should bear the burdens of the weak. This is a fundamental tenet of the missionary creed. If, throughout our history, religious development had been left to local initiative and support many communities would have grown old without a vestige of religious influence. The state, in its field, learned through long experience that it could not leave any of its common concerns, like education, to such haphazard local handling. The church likewise came to realize that it had not only to supplement local resources but frequently to take the initiative in creating local interest. Thus in the long trek of its missionary army across the continent, the church was engaged both in creating desire and in helping to provide the means to satisfy it. In this, too, it promoted that national unity which grows out of our common loyalties.

Third, it early became clear that lateral growth was not America's only problem of expansion, or

indeed its greatest one. The ingenuity was not lacking to surmount barriers or span distances needing to be measured solely in statute miles. But spiritual distances are not so easily spanned. Here was a country engaged in the experiment of making one unified people out of many races and colors. The danger of this was early seen. National unity might easily be frustrated by too many isolated islands of alien thought and feeling. In this field of activity, therefore, home missions has had a dual service to perform. On the one hand, it has operated to interpret to the alien and the stranger the best in American life through a genuinely unselfish concern for their welfare, and also to interpret the alien to the country of his adoption by providing points of friendly contact and opportunity for mutual helpfulness. On the other hand, home missions has been of practical assistance to the alien in helping him to negotiate the transition from the old world to the new and to break through walls of prejudice and misunderstanding which, if permitted to stand, would make us not a unified people, but an aggregate of contrasting and conflicting groups.

What has been true with respect to immigrant groups has been equally true with respect to other racial elements in American life as, for example, the Indians and the Negroes. Not that the effort in these respects has been markedly successful. Christian desire in this matter of race relations has been too uncertain and inarticulate and has been con-

fronted with forces outside of itself over which it has not yet gained ascendency. In this respect, even more clearly than in respect to sectional differences, the ideal of a deep underlying unity has been held before the church, pointing the way to the goals yet to be attained.

Fourth, in the march of progress there have always been some laggards. Adverse circumstances have retarded the advance of whole sections or races. Other groups have been isolated by peculiar economic or social conditions. Home missions from the outset has been compelled to come to grips with these various retarding forces. In every local area where it has been at work, its basic conception of the standards of Christian life has required us to face this question. In the first instance, this concern took the form of a service of amelioration, exemplified in the educational, medical and community service enterprises that have been maintained. But behind this we have seen, more clearly as time passed, the basic questions of social justice. The materialistic, opportunist conception of progress must be challenged in the name of Christ's message of the supremacy of the spirit; so, too, in the name of Christ's concern for the poor and lowly must we challenge that ruthless attitude toward the laggards of our civilization that has so often characterized the cult of progress. We are thus placed under the necessity of following the conditions making for retardation back to their causes and of

seeking to deal with those causes. This again is a service on behalf of national unity, for it seeks to remove some of the glaring inequalities that set one section or group off from the whole.

The convictions that lie back of these various lines of service have been fundamental to the life and development of the church. In translating them into programs and institutions, in supporting them generously with money and with the lives of consecrated men and women, the church has made no unworthy contribution to the growth of our nation in those things that make for true and enduring greatness. If it be true that a nation could not long endure "half slave and half free," it is equally true that it could not achieve genuine strength if its people as a whole responded to no common ideals or purposes. In the attempt to create a national unity on the basis of a common allegiance to Jesus Christ and a common acceptance of the righteousness revealed in him, is perhaps the greatest significance of home missions as a service of the church to our nation.

HOME MISSIONS AND A CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ORDER

Every attempt to create a true national, spiritual unity is an effort to advance the conception of a social order that is thoroughly Christian in its basis and viewpoint. But the responsibility of home mission agencies does not end here. The North American Home Missions Congress declared that there is

implicit in the missionary task the responsibility to arouse and educate the Christian conscience regarding the application of Christian principles to all fundamental social questions of current life. This responsibility is shared by other agencies of the church, but rests with peculiar force upon home missions.

The Federal Council of Churches has this to say on commitment to Christian social ideals, in "A Message to the Churches" issued in connection with the December, 1934, biennial meeting:

> Translated into concrete terms, the Christian gospel means, over against an indifferent and secular world, an insistence upon human values as the supreme test in all the relationships of life. It means a searching criticism of a social order which, in contrast with the vast fruitfulness of nature and invention, leaves millions in poverty, provides no adequate protection against unemployment or the disability arising from disease, accident or old age. It means we can no longer condemn a whole block of our fellow human beings to permanent and discriminatory restriction of opportunity because of race or color. . . .
>
> While the church cannot wisely commit itself to concrete partizan programs, it must nevertheless all the more clearly summon the conscience of mankind to review, contrast and evaluate such programs in the light of the Christian ideal. Over against the vast impersonal organization of modern society, by reason of which men are ever in peril of not even realizing the effects of their unsocial and selfish action, it must create and make sensitive an informed public opinion and social conscience. . . . The church stands today on a new social frontier. Its responsibility is so to proclaim the contemporary application of the eternal truths of the gospel

that men wrestling with the practical problems of a new order shall not lack moral guidance or spiritual support.

APPRAISAL

Has the work of home missions been completed? Is there a task left for it to perform today? Does it have, should it have, a continuing place in the life of the church? These are the questions which have been in the background of all our discussion and with the consideration of which our study closes.

A brief review of the course of home missions development will illustrate the fact that each age creates its own urgency and its own emphasis. The eighteenth century closed with a veritable tidal wave of evangelistic fervor, which brought into being the modern missionary movement and carried the organized church westward to the Mississippi and southward to the Gulf before its force was spent. The acquisition of new territories in the Southwest and West, the discovery of gold on the Pacific Coast, and the dispute over the northwestern boundary drew great numbers of pioneers westward and resulted in a strong impetus to missionary enterprise, until the Civil War turned the energies of the nation into other channels. After the Civil War the tide of western migration rose to its full height. Again the church was stimulated to prodigious deeds. Churches were planted all over the West and up in Alaska before the strength of this force was spent. The Spanish-American War opened new territories.

Coincidentally, the opening years of the twentieth century brought the church a consciousness of far-reaching changes in national development and turned its eyes to new and pressing tasks in city and country and among our foreign-speaking peoples. Interest in evangelism was rekindled. Under the leadership of some of the greatest evangelists of modern times throngs of people joined the churches.

The World War threw everything out of gear. At its close the church turned its energies to the tasks of finance and equipment, and a number of denominational forward movements were launched. Gifts for missions and for all other church purposes rapidly increased. An era of unprecedented activity in church building ensued. There was a noticeable slowing up of evangelism, an increase in church controversies over doctrinal issues, and a general tightening up of denominational lines. The depression brought this brief inglorious period to an inglorious end. Retrenchment became the watchword. Readjustment and reappraisal demanded attention. A significant new interest in social justice and in finding a permanent solution for the problems of poverty and retardation became hopefully apparent.

How adequately have we completed the tasks that during these various successive stages engaged the attention of the mission agencies? Most of the mission field has been at least entered by the church. The primary problem has become one of adequately maintaining and developing the institutions that we

have, and of adapting their programs and organizations to the changing needs of their fields. There is need of a realignment of existing churches, very often involving the redirection of activities, a change in dominant interest, and a new desire to serve a more inclusive group. There is need of a more flexible ministry, willing to experiment, ready to reach out for the scattered folk whom the church has so often neglected. There is need of wider-scale planning, on an interdenominational basis, that will more effectively utilize existing facilities for the extension of service to the, literally, millions who are now without any adequate ministry.

Everywhere the church needs strengthening, needs enrichment of program, needs a more certain and adequate support. Broadly speaking, the church is today relatively strongest in the high-class residential suburbs, the small cities and the towns, and is weakest in the major cities, the rural areas, and among exceptional populations where the effects of modern tendencies are most clearly in evidence. The suburbs skim the cream off the cities; the cities and towns skim the cream off the country. In general, in the major cities and in the open country the average church, unless endowed, or mission aided, or kept alive by some form of artificial respiration, is likely to be too weak for competent leadership, support, equipment, or program.

The service program of home missions is fairly well established at most of the points of greatest

need. The health ministry and many forms of community service should be greatly extended. The general service rendered by the boards to the church at large needs to be strengthened. The need of the church for a dynamic, resourceful leadership in evangelism, local church programs, the broader church strategy within states and metropolitan areas, and the application of Christian principles to current problems is not being met by our present resources. From a quantitative point of view the most serious question arises as to the adjustment of the program with respect to various areas or populations. There are striking differences in the intensiveness of the missionary effort and in the relative size of missionary expenditures for different groups and areas. It is not suggested that less mission work should be done for any segment of the mission area, but that at certain points—notably in the open country, in the major cities, among the Negroes, and in the West Indies—the missionary program needs particularly to be strengthened.

Perhaps more important than the quantitative measures are the qualitative measures of adequacy. On the whole, we can affirm the high spiritual value of the home mission enterprise. There are, to be sure, aspects of the program in which the objectives appear confusing, even contradictory. This may be the case with an institution, such as a school, where its original *raison d'être* has disappeared. It is true, also, of many churches, originally established to

serve purposes which time has weakened or removed altogether, but which continue in outward seeming unchanged. On the other hand, very many churches and other institutions have consistently justified their existence by keeping their programs flexible and adapting their immediate objectives to their altered circumstances.

In the main it seems to us true that home missions is working out a tenable philosophy for the various parts of its field. A few illustrations will suffice. In every aspect of the program the tendency is away from an emphasis on detached enterprises and toward an emphasis on an inclusive service to an area. In church work there is less thought of the particular institution and more thought of the quality and thoroughness of the religious ministry that is made available; less thought of mere extension and more thought of intensive cultivation; less stress on organizational mechanics and more on the educational processes of spiritual growth. The relationship between the church and other community-serving and character-forming agencies is increasingly intimate.

Furthermore, in work among exceptional populations a new realism is replacing the old sentimentalism. In Indian missions the program is being brought into closer alignment with the policy of the federal government. We accept the principle that the Indian should be treated less as a museum piece and more as a citizen of the United States. With all racial groups the policy is away from segregation and

toward assimilation. In all forms of service to retarded population the policy is away from paternalism and toward the development of native capacity for self-direction; it is designed to develop the will and the capacity of the community and the state to provide those social facilities that, in American theory, belong to them. In all mission work the policy is away from the merely remedial and corrective toward the fundamentally constructive. Furthermore, the animating idea in the whole home missions program has been, increasingly, to look at the problem of social progress as an inclusive problem. Evangelistic, educational, medical and other activities are not thought of as detached and unrelated interests, but as parts of one whole.

In these particulars the philosophy of home missions is sound and its objectives are clear and valid. But philosophy is one thing and performance is another. As *Home Missions Today and Tomorrow* points out:

> The real question of quality is an evasive and nebulous one. In practice we know all too well that high technical standards are no guarantee of superior service and that standards which are low by any objective test are no barrier to it. We all know schools and hospitals and churches that are excellent in every particular but one essential one—the spiritual quality of their product; and others that seem to have nothing to commend them except that. Are all churches equally good, given equal standards? We know that they are not. The differences are more subtle but vastly more important than the obvious differences in ritual

or dogma or program. Perhaps this is why many missionaries who never even heard of modern standards of efficiency were able, like Paul and Silas of old, to turn the world upside down. We believe in standards. But even more we believe in the necessity of cultivating the spiritual quality of our work. The two are not inconsistent, but they are different. And the spiritual quality of the missionary force is high. . . . We are convinced that the program as a whole is thoroughly justified by its results. We do not believe there is any other expenditure of equal amount anywhere that has been more fruitful for human good, for social progress, and for the building up of the kingdom of Christ on earth, than the amount expended in this program of home missions.[1]

TOWARD FULFILMENT

It is a sound dictum that "a man's reach should exceed his grasp." What home missions has accomplished, for the church and for the welfare of our country, is an achievement the significance of which it would be difficult to overestimate. We may well pay a tribute of admiration to the sacrifice and devotion that have made it possible. It has been a reaching out in faith toward a Christian America. What if we have reached for more than we have been able to grasp? What has been is only the promise. The fulfilment still eludes us. In an ever changing world of unrealized ideals and frustrated hopes complete success is not for the church, and it is not for home missions.

It is the purpose and effort that really matter,

[1] P. 369.

the aim to make Christ's spirit regnant in the church and in the life of our time. When John the Baptist, from his prison, sent disciples to Jesus to ask him, "Art thou he that should come? or look we for another?", the reply of Jesus was first by deed and then by word. In that hour he cured many of their infirmities and to many that were blind he gave sight. "Then Jesus answering said unto them, Go your way, and tell John what things ye have seen and heard; how that the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, to the poor the gospel is preached."

Men ask of the church, "Is this truly the church of Christ? or look we for another?" Could the church as we know it answer as Jesus answered? At least we may say that the spirit in which the church has conceived its home missions enterprise is a reaching out toward that ideal. Literally and figuratively, home missions seeks, in the name of Christ, to cure many of their infirmities; to help the blind to see, the deaf to hear, the lame to walk; to preach the gospel to the poor, the outcast and the stranger.

Such a spirit in the church is an affirmation of its desire and purpose to press outward and forward in a Christian ministry to every form of human need in every section and for every race or class equally. It affirms the importance of a Christian motive in practical human service. It affirms the spiritual goal to be sought in every aspect of such service.

An article in a recent issue of a missionary magazine bore this homely title, "God's Boundary Pushers." What a picture that suggests! There is a thrill in it, more than a hint of strain, a sense of spaciousness. How close the horizon is to many people; how forbidding are the barriers that block their road; how low-hanging and dark are the clouds above them; how great is their need of someone to help them to push back the boundaries, breach the barriers, and dispel the clouds! Is it not thus that we shall extend the borders of His kingdom? And is this not, after all, where we must find the significance of home missions? "I will say to them that were not my people, 'Thou art my people'; and they shall say, 'Thou art my God.'"

The promise is implicit in the very existence of an enterprise of home missions. If its fulfilment were less difficult, it would be less worth while. If it were less worth while, we should think of it with less concern. Believing it to be supremely worth while, we see a continuing place of unmistakable importance for the contribution of home missions toward a Christian America.

A BRIEF READING LIST

No attempt has been made here to list the many books dealing with the various home mission fields. It is limited, rather, to some of the general sources furnishing background for a study of the history and development of the home mission enterprise. For an extended list giving a classified selection of books on separate fields, see *Home Missions Today and Tomorrow*, pages 406-12. A number of the important historical works here included (marked *) are now out of print but will be available for reference in many libraries. Titles for which publisher is not indicated are issued by the Council of Women for Home Missions and the Missionary Education Movement, New York City, and are available through denominational literature headquarters and bookstores.

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